

THE IMPLICATIONS OF PARENTAL AND CHILD
SMARTPHONE USE ON PARENT-CHILD AND FAMILY
RELATIONSHIPS:
A CASE-STUDY OF THE TURKISH-SPEAKING
COMMUNITY IN LONDON

ERGIN YAMAN

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the University of Westminster
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

SEPTEMBER 2021

COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA RESEARCH INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER

Table of Contents

List of Tables	5
Acknowledgements	6
Declaration	7
Abstract	8
Chapter One: Introduction	09
The Problem	09
The Aim of the Study	11
The Significance of the Study	12
An Overview of the Chapters	12
Summary	14
Chapter Two: Review of the Literature	16
Introduction	16
Parent-Child Relationship	18
Domestic Media and Everyday Life	21
Pre-Internet Media and its Implications on Children and Families	26
The Implications of the Internet for Children and Families	31
<i>The Positive Implications of the Internet for Children and Families</i>	31
<i>The Negative Implications of the Internet for Children and Families</i>	34
<i>The Impact of Internet Use on Parent-Child Relationship</i>	37
The Impact of Smartphones on Parent-Child Relationship	42
Digital Inequality and its Implications for Disadvantaged Children	49
The Role of Mobile Phones in Distant Family Communication and Experiences of Immigration	53
The Turkish-speaking Community in the UK	56
<i>History of the Turkish-speaking Community in the UK</i>	56

<i>The Current Composition and Geographical Concentration of the Turkish-speaking Community in the UK</i>	58
<i>The Socio-Economic Circumstances of the Turkish-speaking Community</i>	60
<i>Parent-Child Relationship in the Turkish-speaking Community in London</i>	62
Summary	66
Chapter Three: Methodology	68
Introduction	68
Research Population and the Context of the Study	68
<i>Characteristics of Research Participants</i>	68
<i>My Observations</i>	73
<i>The Turkish-speaking Community in London</i>	75
Data Collection	77
<i>Ethics and Governance Approval</i>	78
<i>Type of Interview</i>	79
<i>Recruitment</i>	81
<i>Pilot Interview and Evaluation of Pilot Interview</i>	82
<i>In-depth, Semi-structured Interviews with Children</i>	83
<i>In-depth, Semi-structured Interviews with Parents</i>	84
Data Analysis	85
Summary	87
Chapter Four: Findings	88
Introduction	88
Children’s Smartphone Use, its Implications and Managing Smartphone Use	89
<i>Patterns of Children’s Smartphone Use</i>	89
<i>Smartphones and Non-educational Use</i>	92
<i>Smartphones and Children’s Learning</i>	94
<i>Smartphone Use and its Impact on Children’s Health</i>	101
<i>Managing Children’s Smartphone Use</i>	104
Parents’ Smartphone Use	115

<i>Patterns of Parents' Smartphone Use</i>	115
<i>Parents' and Children's Views and Feelings about Parental Smartphone Use</i>	117
Smartphones, Parent-Child and Family Relationships	129
<i>Parent-Child and Family Time</i>	130
<i>Parent-Child Communication</i>	140
<i>Relationship Difficulties</i>	146
<i>Parenting</i>	154
Smartphones' Role in Children's Contact with Family Members in Turkey	160
Summary	168
Chapter Five: Discussion of Findings	169
Introduction	169
Children's Smartphone Use, its Implications and Managing Smartphone Use	169
Parents' Smartphone Use	175
Smartphones and Parent-Child and Family Relationships	176
Smartphones' Role in Children's Contact with Family Members in Turkey	186
Conclusion	189
Appendix I	192
Appendix II	196
Appendix III	199
Appendix IV	202
Appendix V	203
Appendix VI	204
Appendix VII	205
Appendix VIII	207
Appendix IX	209
Bibliography	213

List of Tables

Table 1: Socio-demographic Information and Parent-child Relationship in the Context of Smartphone Use	70
Table 2: Patterns of Children's Smartphone use	90
Table 3: Patterns of Parents' Smartphone Use	116

Acknowledgements

This study would not have been possible without the ongoing constructive challenge, guidance, support and positive encouragement from my supervisor, Dr Alessandro D'arma, who has been kind, understanding and humane throughout my journey, as such, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to Dr D'arma.

I would also like to thank my second supervisor, Dr Maria Michalis, who has contributed to the progress of the thesis to take its current shape. Further, I would like to thank Dr Winston Mano and Dr Anthony McNicholas, who were part of reviewing my APRs. Their feedback and suggestions were constructive in further refining this thesis.

My particular thanks and gratitude of course go to each and every participant who allocated time to take part in this study.

And my family deserves special thanks as without their constant encouragement and support, I would not have been able to complete this study.

Declaration

I declare that all the material contained in this thesis is my work.

Abstract

This qualitative research study explores the implications of parental and child smartphone use on parent-child and family relationships. It also explores the role of smartphones in children's contact with distant family members and the implications of smartphones for children's learning, health and entertainment. In exploring all these, this thesis aims to contribute to the literature on digital device use and its various implications for immigrant ethnic minority children and families. The theoretical framework of this study draws on different strands of literature at the intersection of parent-child relationship and media. By focusing on this intersection, the study explores how the experiences and perceptions of parent-child and family relationships are influenced by smartphone use.

The study data are based on semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 14 families, 19 interviews with children and 15 interviews with parents. The study concluded that with the wide integration of smartphones into family life, there are interferences with the everyday experiences of parent-child and family time. It also concluded that immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones weakens the quality of parent-child communication, parent-child relationship and parenting. The study further concluded that smartphones play a positive role in children's connection with their extended family members in Turkey, which was valued both by the children and their parents. In terms of the role of smartphones for children's entertainment, for all of the interviewed children smartphones were found to be playing a significant role in this respect. As for smartphones' role in children's learning, most of the interviewed children seemed to value smartphones as a tool that helps them with their learning and feeding their interests. Children and parents associated positive feelings with children's smartphone use for learning whilst describing their non-educational smartphone use as a "waste of time" or "useless". With respect to the impact of smartphone use on children's health, both parents and children reported concerns in this respect.

The findings of this study highlight that the way smartphones are used can either lead them to be perceived as facilitating and connecting devices that lead to improved connection and satisfaction whilst meeting various needs or separating devices that fracture/interfere with parent-child and family relationships, which can in turn be a source of conflict and dissatisfaction. This thesis is a first step in illustrating the implications of smartphone use on parent-child and family relationships in the Turkish-speaking community in London. Further diverse research on this subject on immigrant ethnic minority communities will help to gain a broader understanding of the implications of digital device use on parent-child and family relationships within immigrant ethnic minority communities.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an introduction to the thesis by setting out the research problem, the aim and significance of the study. It subsequently sets out the structure of the thesis by providing an overview of each chapter.

The Problem

According to Ofcom's 2020 Communications Market Report, the adoption of mobile phones has become almost universal in the UK, with 98% of homes having them (Ofcom, 2020a). Similarly, Ofcom's 2020 online nation report highlights that smartphones¹ have become the most popular internet-connected device (Ofcom, 2020b). The same report indicates that children mostly use mobile phones to access the internet as they become older with mobile phones accounting for 50% of 12-15 years old children's internet access amongst all devices (games console, smart TV, computer, mobile phone, and tablet). Furthermore, September 2020 data from UK Online Measurement (UKOM) demonstrates that parents spend their online time mostly (72%) via smartphones (UKOM, 2020). Pre-Covid-19 data by the same source indicates that smartphones were the most popular internet-connected device even before the COVID-19 pandemic. For example, according to UKOM's September 2019 data, smartphones accounted for 67% of all adults' time online, while UKOM's September 2018 data indicated that smartphones accounted for 63% of all adults' time online (UKOM, 2019; UKOM, 2018a). Similarly, according to UKOM's June 2018 data, UK women over the age of 18 with children spent most of their time online (68%) via smartphones (UKOM, 2018b). According to the same data, mothers spent a higher share of their online time (76%) on smartphones compared to fathers (65%). Considering this with the data from UN's International Telecommunication Union (ITU), which estimated that mobile phone subscriptions had exceeded 8 billion at the end of 2019, the extent of the expansion and adoption of mobile telephony becomes much more obvious (ITU, 2019). The fact that this figure exceeds the world population further shows the popularity of smartphones and the extent to which

¹ Please note that the terms smartphones and mobile phones have been used interchangeably.

they are transforming individuals' experiences in various areas.

Despite this vast expansion and permeation, the research into the implications of smartphones on parent-child and family relationships is relatively new (see Ortner and Holly, 2019; Sbarra, Briskin and Slatcher, 2019; Kushlev and Dunn 2019; McDaniel and Radesky, 2018; McDaniel and Coyne, 2016; Radesky et al., 2015; Radesky et al., 2014). In particular, during my literature review, I didn't come across any research that explored the implications of the integration and use of smartphones on immediate parent-child and family relationships within immigrant ethnic minority communities whereby parents and children live together.

On the other hand, there is plenty of research highlighting the significance of the positive relationship between children and their parents for children's healthy development (Bowlby, 1969; Baumrind, 1991; O'Connor, 2012; Mcfarlane et al., 2010; Tuttle, Knudson-Martin and Kim, 2012; Laursen and Collins, 2009; Collins et al., 2011). Parent-child relationship, which is a unique bond between parents and children, nurtures and determines the quality of children's emotional, cognitive and social development. In particular, appropriate physical and emotional parental presence and availability is found to be crucial through all stages of children's development (Bowlby, 1969; O'Connor, 2012). The quality of parent-child and family relationships can be affected by a range of factors. One of these factors is advances made in internet and communication technologies (ICTs), amongst which smartphones have had the most pervasive effect. All of this context makes it extremely important to understand how parent-child and family relationships are affected by the integration and use of smartphones both by the parents and children.

During my literature review, the research I encountered on the impact of mobile device use on parent-child relationship highlighted that parental absorption in mobile devices limits parents' physical and emotional availability leading to supervision issues and lack of appropriate responsiveness to children's behaviour and needs (Radesky et al., 2014; McDaniel, 2015; McDaniel and Coyne, 2016; Hiniker et al., 2015; Moser, Schoenebeck and Reinecke, 2016; Kushlev and Dunn, 2019; McDaniel and Radesky, 2018). This is argued to be leading to the so-called paradox of "absent presence" (Gergen, 2002: 227), which could have a significant negative impact on the quality of parent-child relationship

and communication. This in turn can have significant negative implications for children's development and emotional well-being. On the other hand, the research I encountered on mobile phones and migrant mothering showed a completely contrasting picture, in that it highlights how smartphones are facilitating and enabling distant maternal presence and availability for children (Parrenas, 2001; Parrenas, 2005; Wilding, 2006; Bonini, 2011; Chib et al., 2014; Wang and Lim, 2017). Given that "distance" appears to be a significant factor in how mobile phones are perceived in the context of transnational mothering, I was interested in exploring the implications of mobile phones on parent-child and family relationships within the context of diasporic communities both when "distance" is taken out of equation but also when taken into account in terms of children's contact with their family members in their home country.

The Aim of the Study

The primary aim of this study is to explore how parent-child and family relationships are affected by the integration and use of the internet-connected mobile telephony, in other words, smartphones within the Turkish-speaking community in London. Described as the most pervasive and the fastest diffusing communication technology, internet-connected mobile telephony has become one of the most transforming technologies of our time (Castells et al., 2006). Their lightweight, portable nature and multiple affordances have resulted in smartphones having a drastically changing effect on our lives, redefining our communication and daily life experiences. As a result of their multiple affordances, there is an ever-growing dependency on mobile phones, "with individuals keeping them always on or near them at all times" as part of the urge to feel "always connected" or being in a state of "perpetual contact" (McDaniel, 2015: 2; Middleton, 2007: 165-178; Gergen, 2002: 227).

This study aims to explore how parent-child and family relationships are influenced by the wide adoption of, and the growing dependency on smartphones by seeking answers to the below main research question and the subsidiary two research questions (SRQs).

RQ: How does smartphone use impact on parent-child and family relationships in the context of Turkish-speaking community in London?

In answering this main research question, the following dimensions are explored: parental

presence, availability, and attentiveness, parent-child and family time and parent-child communication.

In addition to this main research question, this study addresses the below two subsidiary research questions:

SRQ1: How are smartphones perceived in relation to children's learning, entertainment and health?

SRQ2: How are smartphones perceived in children's connection and communication with their family members in Turkey?

The Significance of Study

The research carried out on the impact of smartphone use on parent-child and family relationships is relatively new whilst research specifically focusing on ethnic communities in this regard seem to have mainly focused on transnational mothering. As such, the findings of this research will contribute to the understanding of how parent-child and family relationships are influenced by the use of a multifunctional device. Moreover, by focusing on Turkish-speaking families in London, this study is significant in further developing the understanding around how immigrant ethnic minority communities are adapting to the new internet and communication technologies and how family dynamics are affected by the adoption of new ICTs within these communities. Additionally, this study will contribute to the available knowledge about the role of smartphones in facilitating remote communication/relationships with family members that live in the country of origin. Finally, similar to the context of transnational mothering, this study will contribute to the understanding of how the context and nature of smartphone use could have different meanings and consequences for children, parents and families in the context of immigrant ethnic minority communities whereby parents and children live together.

An Overview of the Chapters

This thesis consists of five chapters and a conclusion.

Chapter two begins by reviewing the literature on the significance of parent-child relationship and appropriate parenting. Then, it focuses on the literature on domestic

media and everyday life. These strands of the literature are chosen as they provide a context for the aim of this research whilst allowing the study findings to be explained in the context of how everyday parent-child and family relationships are affected by the integration and use of new ICTs. Next, it considers the literature on pre-internet media and its implications on children and family relationships in order to illustrate the similarities between the discourses around the new ICTs and pre-internet media. After that, it reviews the literature on the implications of the internet for children and families followed by literature on the impact of smartphones on parent-child relationship. Subsequently, the literature on digital inequality and its implications for disadvantaged children is reviewed. This was felt to be important as research has shown that children from ethnic minority communities could experience multiple disadvantages and challenges stemming from their unique circumstances. Therefore, getting a sense of how the already-existing disadvantages are potentially shaping disadvantaged children's experiences with the new media was felt to be relevant. Later, the chapter reviews the literature on the role of mobile phones when it comes to distant family communication and experiences of immigration. Finally, it presents a review of the literature on the Turkish-speaking community in London in terms of its history, current composition and geographical expansion, its socio-economic conditions and parent-child relationship within this community.

Chapter three illustrates the methods used in exploring the main research question and the two subsidiary research questions set out in this chapter. In doing so, it first provides descriptive information about the research participants and the context of the study. Subsequently, it sets out the method used in collecting the data and finally, it outlines the method used in analysing and reflecting the content of the interviews.

Chapter four focuses on the findings of the research. It begins with the interview data on "children's smartphone use, its implications and managing smartphone use". Under this theme, data on "patterns of children's smartphone use", "smartphones and non-educational use", "smartphones' role in children's learning", "smartphone use and its impact on children's health" and finally "managing children's smartphone use" are presented. Next, the interview data on "parents' smartphone use" is presented. Under this theme, data on "patterns of parents' smartphone use" and "parents' and children's views and feelings about parental smartphone use habits" are illustrated. Then, the chapter

exhibits the interview data on parent-child and family relationships. In doing so, the thematized interview data are presented under four themes under the umbrella theme of “smartphones, parent-child and family relationships”. First, the theme “parent-child and family time” reflects parents’ and children’s views and feelings in relation to the integration and use of smartphones and its implications for parent-child and family time. Second, the theme “parent-child communication” reflects children’s and parents’ views and feelings on how the immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones impact on their communication opportunities and the quality of their interaction. Third, the theme “relationship difficulties” illustrates the interview data on how high use and immersion into smartphones result in relationship difficulties between children and their parents. Fourth, the theme “parenting” conveys parents’ and children’s views about how parental immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones impact on parents’ quality of parenting in terms of their presence, availability and attentiveness. The last section of the chapter presents the interview data on the role of smartphones in children’s contact with their family members in Turkey under the theme “smartphones’ role in children’s contact with family members in Turkey”.

Chapter five provides a discussion of the research findings in connection with the findings of other relevant research and scholarly debate. The discussions are presented under the following themes “children’s smartphone use, its implications and managing smartphone use”, “parents’ smartphone use”, “smartphones and parent-child and family relationships” and “smartphones’ role in children’s contact with their family members in Turkey”.

Finally, the Conclusion summarises the main findings of the research whilst discussing its significance, limitations and directions for future research.

Summary

This chapter presented the problem, the aim and the significance of this study while providing an overview of each chapter. As outlined, the primary objective of this study is to explore the implications of smartphone use on parent-child and family relationships within the Turkish-speaking community in London. Further, it aims to explore the role of smartphones in children’s communication with their family members in Turkey and how

this subsequently impacts on their relationship with their parents. In addition, it seeks to understand the implications of smartphones for children's entertainment, education and health.

The next chapter will situate the study within its academic context and review different strands of literature related to the topic of this research.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter initially sets out the significance of the parent-child relationship by reviewing the relevant literature. This is important as the primary aim of this study is to develop an understanding of how parent-child and family relationships are influenced by one of the new and most pervasive internet and communication technologies. As such, in contextualising this, it is important to have a prior and clear sense of what appropriate parent-child relationship is, what appropriate parenting is, why both are important and what the implications for children are when they are not experiencing a healthy parent-child relationship and when they are not afforded with appropriate parenting. In answering all these questions, the literature on attachment theory, social learning theory and parenting styles is reviewed.

Then, the chapter reviews the literature on domestic media and everyday life. After setting out the significance of parent-child relationship, it was felt contextual to first review the historical implications of domestic media for everyday parent-child and family relationships, how domestic media experiences have changed over time with multiple media sets arriving in the family homes and how everyday experiences of parent-child and family relationships are changing with the invention and wide adoption of new personal, mobile and internet-connected ICT devices. All of this was felt to be important to develop a sense of how parent-child and family experiences are undergoing changes in a private space (home).

Next, the chapter reviews the literature on the pre-internet media and its implications on children and families. In doing so, it draws on the literature on the discourses around the pre-internet media, reactions to the pre-internet media and the research on the implications of pre-internet media on children and families. This again is contextual for developing an understanding of whether there are parallels between the discourses around current internet and communication technologies and pre-internet media, and whether

there are similarities in terms of researched implications as well as initial reactions to pre-internet media and new ICTs.

After reviewing the literature on pre-internet media and its implications on children and families, the chapter draws on the literature on the implications of the internet on children and families followed by literature on the impact of smartphones on parent-child relationship. This is important in developing an understanding of the research that has been carried out so far on the implications of the internet and smartphones on parent-child and family relationships.

Subsequently, the chapter reviews the literature on digital inequality and its implications for disadvantaged children. As highlighted earlier, children from ethnic minority communities experience a number of challenges and disadvantages as a result of their and their families' unique circumstances stemming from their immigration experience. As such, it felt contextual to review the literature in this regard to develop a sense on how the already existing challenges and disadvantages are influencing and shaping disadvantaged children's experiences with the new ICTs.

Later, the chapter reviews the literature on the role of mobile phones in distant family communication and experiences of immigration. This again was felt to be contextual because the role of smartphones in children's contact with their family members in Turkey and their experiences in this respect were part of this research's exploration. As such, having an understanding of the research on the role of mobile phones in distant family communication was felt to be important.

Finally, the chapter considers the literature on the Turkish-speaking community in London in terms of its history, current composition and geographical expansion, its socio-economic conditions and parent-child relationship within this community. All these were felt to be important to develop a broad understanding of this community, and to relate, interpret and contextualise the research findings.

Parent-Child Relationship

The term “relationship” is defined as a state of interdependence in which those involved are mutually influenced by one another’s behaviours or actions (Reis and Collins, 2004: 234). In a relationship, there can be exchanges of thoughts, feelings, views, support, attentiveness, availability and presence for one another, the degree and nature of which determines the degree of interdependence and mutual impact (Collins, Raby and Causadias, 2011). Individuals gain meaning and attribute meaning to others through the various relationships they experience during their lives. Amongst all of these relationships, the parent-child relationship is the most defining and crucial one as it is innate and starts to form from pre-birth and develops as time goes on. Despite the common perception that children are passive recipients in this relationship, it is argued that the relationship between parents and children is bidirectional (Bell, 1968; Collins and Laursen, 2004), in that children are not merely passive recipients of parenting but are also agents of socialization and emotional influence for their parents (Cook, 2001). This suggests that although parenting appears to have a unidirectional nature as a concept, it is a process in which both parents and children are mutually influenced by one another. The nature of this influence – in other words, the quality of the relationship between parents and children – has a significant and lasting impact on children’s cognitive, social, emotional and behavioural development and well-being. For parents, it can also be a source of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, which can again impact on their well-being and how they feel about themselves.

Parent-child relationship has been subject to extensive research; however, the most significant conceptualization of this relationship derives from attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969). Using the term “attachment”² to define the bond between parents and children, Bowlby highlights how the quality of attachment between parents and children have short and long-term impacts on children’s self-confidence, self-esteem, emotional resilience and their subsequent ability to explore the world around them and beyond whilst managing various relationships in this world. The availability of a secure base – in other words, the presence and availability of a responsive, warm and attuned parent – leads to secure attachments between children and their parents, which consequently leads

²Attachment is defined as “a deep and enduring emotional bond that connects one person to another across time and space” and it is discussed to have “lasting psychological connectedness between human beings” (Bowlby, 1969; Ainsworth, 1973).

to emotionally resilient and self-confident children. On the other hand, the lack of a secure base has long-term negative emotional implications for children (O'Connor, 2012: 1-14), including low self-esteem, low self-confidence and low emotional resilience.

Of course, the type of exercised parenting has also been found to have a significant impact on the quality of the interaction between children and their parents. Diana Baumrind's (1991) parenting style categorisation sets out four different parenting styles: authoritarian, permissive, authoritative and disengaged. These patterns of parenting are determined by the level of responsiveness³ and demandingness⁴ (Baumrind, 2005: 61-62), which echoes the notions emphasized by the attachment theory. Baumrind highlights that authoritarian parents are highly demanding parents who are strict in monitoring and regulating their children's activities but rate low on responsiveness. On the other hand, permissive parents tend to be very responsive to their children's various needs but make no or little demands. As for the authoritative parents, they tend to be both highly responsive and demanding. In other words, they are strict but nurturing, which is discussed to be the parenting pattern that support children's appropriate development much more positively. Finally, disengaged or uninvolved parenting style describes parenting patterns whereby parents are dismissive and detached, rating low on responsiveness, demandingness and control.

Although the quality of attachment between parents and their children and the type of exercised parenting are significant in terms of parent-child relationship, it has to be noted that both attachment and the type of parenting practices are significantly influenced by culture-specific values, goals, discourses (Harkness et al., 2000), and by other circumstantial factors such as socioeconomic status and the nature of communities in which parenting occurs (Kotchick and Forehand, 2002; Kagitcibasi, 2002). Nevertheless, despite these differentiating factors, overall the common goal of parenting is to support children's healthy development and socialisation so that they become well-functioning individuals. Parents try to achieve this by providing emotional support, behavioural reinforcement/ discouragement and guidance through their behaviour, all of which impact on children's ability to self-regulate, their ability to articulate themselves, to conduct

³ Responsiveness refers to "the extent to which parents foster individuality and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive and acquiescent to children's requests; it includes warmth, autonomy support and reasoned communication" (Baumrind, 2005: 61).

⁴ Demandingness refers to the "claims parents make on children to become integrated into society by behavior regulation, direct confrontation, maturity demands (behavioral control) and supervision of children's activities (monitoring)" (Baumrind, 2005: 62).

themselves and interact with others (O'Connor, 2012; Gray and Steinberg, 1999; Hawkins and Weis, 1985; Bandura, 1977; Bowlby, 1969).

The parent-child relationship is also influenced by child developmental stages. As children transition into adolescence, the relationship between them and their parents is to some extent influenced by the developmental characteristics of the delicate puberty years. However, it is argued that the nature of early attachment or relationship between parents and children has a continuous consistent effect throughout adolescence, in that adolescents and parents with a history of sensitive, responsive interactions and strong emotional bond should maintain these positive features throughout adolescence. In contrast, adolescents and parents with a history of difficult interactions are likely to experience a similar continuity in the quality of their interactions (Laursen and Collins, 2009: 7-8). Indeed, having a secure base is crucial through all stages of transitions and developments that individuals go through. Robinson (2003: 17–18) highlights this significance as follows:

Development is all about transitions. All our lives are a series of transitions: conception to birth, birth to toddlerhood, to pre-schooler, school-age child to adolescent, adolescent to adult, adult to our final transition – when we die. Throughout this time, we have the capacity for change and adaptation, but we all need a starting point. Our universal starting point is when we emerge from our mothers into the world as a bundle of raw, unregulated emotion. From that first moment through our primary experiences of need and response comes the formation of the first feelings of emotional security and safety.

It is discussed that new patterns of interdependence form between adolescents and their parents/caregivers during adolescence whilst there is a tendency towards more interdependence within friendships (Collins, Raby and Causadias, 2011: 5). Despite these new patterns of interdependence, research has found that close parent-child relationship and parental expressed affection are positively associated with adolescents' self-worth (McAdams et al., 2017: 46). All these highlights that appropriate parental responsiveness, presence and availability are significant through all stages of childhood for children's healthy and appropriate development.

With the socio-cultural, educational and political changes that are affecting children and families, it is discussed that there is a shift in parent-child relationships, in that there is a

growing focus on egalitarian parenting practices whereby children's voice, their choice and rights are more taken into account (Santos, Campana and Gomes, 2019: 1; Trifan, Stattin and Tilton-Weaver, 2014: 744; Williams and Williams, 2005: 315). Consistent with this shift, appropriate parent-child relationship and communication becomes much more crucial, especially in light of the ever increasing external stimulants that children are experiencing.

Domestic Media and Everyday Life

Facilitating various forms of connectivity with the outer world and life events, domestic media technologies are technologies that incorporate the outside world into our life whilst equally incorporating us into the outside world and the life events that take place outside of the home (Haddon and Silverstone, 2000: 255). The history of this connectivity goes back to the late nineteenth century when the worldwide telephone network started to deliver this connection. Today, the telephone network retains its significance and continues to deliver this connection not only through phone calls but newer inventions such as fax and the internet, merging the late twentieth-century technology with late nineteenth-century technology (Scannell, 2017: 136).

Back in 1984, Hermann Bausinger (cited in Morley, 1992: 239) discussed how technologies were increasingly being integrated into home life and how routines and daily lives were being organised around these technologies. Almost four decades since Bausinger's discourse in this respect, ICTs have immensely developed in variety, functionality and user ratio. So has the domestication of all of these technologies and the extent they influence our daily lives. As highlighted by Andre Caron:

Today [however] our life has speeded up. Not only do technologies spread much more rapidly, but the time separating the introduction of new forms is much shorter. This phenomenon has bought in its wake the need to redefine more traditional household technologies, such as television and traditional telephony. The borders between the different technologies are fading. All this contributes to redefining the way we appropriate technologies, both as individuals and communities. The dichotomy that defined technology as a work tool or leisure item tends to disappear and with it the lines drawn between public and private spheres (Caron, 2000, cited in Holloway, 2004: 4).

Indeed, the mass spread of pre-internet media (such as the telephone, radio and television) took its course to establish (Holloway, 2004: 4) but this is no longer the case with the new ICTs, which is having implications for all components of family life and for communities. With the widespread adoption of the new media and communication technologies, families and communities are to some extent caught unprepared. As a consequence, whilst reaping the benefits of all these technologies, at the same time, they have been facing and are having to deal with the new challenges these technologies are introducing. The dichotomy between the “digital immigrants” and “digital natives” (Prensky, 2001: 1-2) and the related implications in terms of the relationship between these two groups, is a phenomenon that shows us the various manifestations of new communication technologies for families and communities, especially in terms of “reverse socialisation”⁵ and related intergenerational conflicts (Hoikkala, 2004; Buckingham, 2006; Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2012; Kiessler et al., 2000; Mesch, 2003). The process of domestication, which involves the steps of “appropriation”⁶, “objectification”⁷, “incorporation”⁸ and “conversion”⁹ (Silverstone, 1994), is happening at a much faster pace, leading to different phases being experienced at the same time or with very little gaps in between. This shows the extent and the speed of – perhaps mostly invisible – transformations and adjustments that families and communities are going through (Bausinger, 1984, cited in Morley, 1992: 239).

In this context, Paddy Scannell’s ideas (2007: 127) around various implications of different media for “control of time and space” gives us a lead on another aspect of media technologies in and out of our homes. The fact that new ICTs are upgraded constantly with newer versions and new gadgets or functions are being continuously introduced into our lives, “the control of time and space by media technologies” is happening at a pace and to an extent never experienced before. This, in a way, indicates the extent of our involvement in the technologically-mediated world and the involvement of the technologically-mediated world in our lives (McLuhan, 1964: 5, 6). Given that internet

⁵ Reverse socialisation is the process of young people influencing their parents' socialisation (Hoikkala, 2004; Buckingham; 2006).

⁶ Appropriation is the phase where a technological item is acquired and possessed (Silverstone, 1994: 126).

⁷ Objectification is the meaning and extensions that acquired technological item attributes to the owner or the environment they are displayed in (Silverstone, 1994: 127).

⁸ Incorporation is about the way acquired items are used and incorporated into daily life (Silverstone, 1994:129).

⁹ Conversion is about the role the possessed technological objects play in how their owners present themselves to the outside world and relate to others (Silverstone, 1994: 130).

and communication technologies are permeating all spaces (cars, planes, schools, homes, cafes, work-places, etc.), the extent of the control of time and space by the new media technologies becomes much more apparent. Especially given that each sector (e.g. travel industry, hospitality, education, etc.) are having to constantly keep up with the new ICTs in order to remain competitive in their respective fields, as asserted by Bausinger, our daily lives and routines in and out of homes are continuously re-constructed with the new media technologies at an extent never experienced before.

Considering all these, what we are experiencing today is something that goes beyond domestication as a result of the wide adoption of mobile and internet-connected digital devices. In other words, the domestication of technology is no longer a thing of the living room as it used to be, but it is something that is continuously occurring on the go as we walk and travel regardless of whether we are indoors or outdoors. In this context, we are beyond the experience of having the world in our living room (Dayan and Katz, 1994) and are going through a phase of having the world in our hands through smartphones, a mobile technology that wanders with us everywhere. With the diverse range of other digital mobile devices such as laptops, desktops, TVs, iPads, e-readers, handheld gaming consoles, we are undoubtedly experiencing multiple implications of mediatisation on our socialization and everyday life (Ortner and Holly, 2019; Hepp and Krotz 2014; Couldry and Hepp, 2013). This is inevitably resulting in media having implications for the practices of everyday life in numerous ways, leading to the blurring – if not the disappearance – of the boundaries between the private and public space (Dayan and Katz, 1994; Silverstone, 1994; Aroldi and Vittadini, 2017).

Further to the discussion around the disappearance of boundaries between private and public space, Danah Boyd (2012) discusses that through the opportunity for connection to information and people anywhere and anytime, the online and offline dimensions of communication and interaction have disappeared, in that constant connectivity has become part of our lives with the ever-increasing mobility and pervasiveness of internet-connected digital devices, in particular smartphones. This argument is significant in terms of the point that Scannell makes about the extent of the media's control over our experiences of time and space. It is also significant in its connection to the argument about the “inconspicuous omnipresence of the technical” in our lives (Bausinger, 1984, cited in Morley, 1992: 239).

As highlighted, the instant connectivity which is now happening in and outside of the home has become progressively more intense and diverse over the last three decades, turning the world into an easily accessible single “global village”, a concept introduced by Marshall McLuhan back in the 1960s (McLuhan, 1964). By this concept, McLuhan referred to how domestic media was facilitating the expansion of knowledge to the whole of human society and how through this, individuals were getting involved in the whole of mankind:

Today, after more than a century of electronic technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing space and time as far as our planet is concerned. Rapidly we approach the final phase of the extensions of man - technological simulations of consciousness, when the creative process of knowing will be collectively and corporately extended to the whole of human society [...] In the electric age, when our whole nervous system is technologically extended to involve us in the whole of mankind and to incorporate the whole of mankind in us, we necessarily participate, in depth, in the consequences of our very action (McLuhan, 1964: 5, 6).

McLuhan foresaw over half a century ago what we are experiencing today with the global spread of social media platforms, the internet and multiple forms of digital technologies. As he highlights, with the invention and widespread adoption of the new media, there are implications of each device in terms of socialisation and interpersonal relations, which is what my research is also aiming to shed light on in terms of the implications of smartphone use on parent-child and family relationships. There are already some research findings, which contributes to our understanding of this issue. For example, a study by Christiana Ortner and Sophie Holly (2019) aiming to explore the implications of smartphone use on parent-child relationship found that smartphone use results in reduced attention, which both children and parents were discontent with. Furthermore, they found that neither parents nor children were living up to their own expectations (e.g. when parents set rules, they break themselves), which was leading to conflicts. Besides, they found that both children and parents felt the quality of shared time is reduced due to their smartphone use (Ortner and Holly, 2019: 10).

With the fast spread and evolvement of digital technologies, the decision-making about domestic media use seems to have also undergone significant change. Whilst research

has shown that the pre-internet media such as television and radio reinforced parents' authority in the homes, in particular fathers', (Morley, 1992: 147), with the new internet-connected technologies, fathers but generally parents are less prominent when it comes to decisions around the media. It is discussed that the individual nature of the digital devices is a factor in restricting parental decision-making or guidance when it comes to digital device use (Ponte, Pereira and Castro, 2019: 288).

Similarly, Roger Silverstone discusses how the future of the family is widely perceived to be threatened by the emergence of "isolating and fragmenting" mobile and individual devices. Talking about the withdrawal of family members into their individual worlds, Silverstone refers to a new experience of home life where "parents and children could be seen to occupy separate domestic times and spaces, isolated by personalised stereo systems ... passing each other like ships in the night in a jamming fog of electronic communication and information overload" (Silverstone, 1991, cited in Morley 2000: 90-91). By occupying families' living rooms initially, television and radio were keeping family members in the same space, facilitating the sharing of similar experiences through co-viewing. However, with the arrival of multiple TVs into the family homes, there has been fragmentation of domestic viewing (Gauntlett and Hill, 1999: 242; Morley, 2000: 90). This has been intensified with the affordances of multiple mobile, internet-connected and personal digital devices, which are discussed to be resulting in the withdrawal of family members into their own mediated world (Devitt and Roker, 2009: 200). Andre Caron and Letizia Caronia (2021: 200) highlight that this change has resulted in more private consumption and the use of multiple private digital devices in and out of the home, contributing towards new patterns of intra- and extra-familial communication.

To further elaborate on how internet and communication technologies are having implications on our daily lives, David Sbarra and his colleagues (2019: 596-605) highlight that our experiences of sharing our thoughts, feelings, views and responses in relation to all of these experiences have gone through a significant change with the affordances of smartphones. Elaborating on this, they discuss that unlike past experiences of self-disclosure and responsiveness, these experiences are now much more susceptible to fragmentations and interruptions due to continuous interruptions that come with various affordances of smartphones. Discussing the consequences of this for our bonding and close relationships, they highlight that our experiences of self-disclosure and

responsiveness – which are key components for bonding and close relationships – are becoming ever more virtual and may be undergoing an evolutionary mismatch. They further discuss that with their easy portability, constant connectivity and various forms of communications and affordances they provide, smartphones can lead to diversion from immediate, face-to-face interactions and can continuously fragment real-time interactions, undermining the quality of immediate, face-to-face interactions. Reinforcing this, a study carried on parents' perceptions of smartphone use and parenting practices found that the accessibility and affordances that the smartphones provide promote the users to continuously disengage from the present, which in parents' case can mean that engagement with their child/ren is often disrupted (Johnson, 2017: 27-31).

From all of the above, it could be argued that the mass production of digital technologies, their easy portability, increasing personalisation and as a consequence, their widespread adoption has resulted in media technologies controlling our experiences of everyday time and space to an extent and speed that has never been experienced before. As a result, our experiences of mediatisation in and outside of the home have experienced significant transformations whilst we find ourselves in the mediated world and reciprocally the mediated world in our lives almost every second.

The next section will review the literature on the implications of pre-internet media for children and families, in particular in terms of the parent-child relationship and in the context of whether there are some parallels between the findings of pre-internet media and new ICTs in this respect.

Pre-Internet Media and its Implications on Children and Families

Innovations in communication and information technologies are by no means new. As stressed by Caron and Caronia (2007: 3), the invention and adoption of each pre-internet communication technology such as radio and television has marked a cultural turning point for their era and the communities concerned. Therefore, as highlighted by them, despite the new “generation” of information and communication technologies, the deep cultural transformations facilitated by these technologies are far from being new phenomena. Similarly, the panics and fears associated with the new communication technologies are not new either (Drotner, 1999: 610; Cohen, 2011: XIX). Describing the

reactions to new media as “recurrent”, Kirsten Drotner discusses that there is a cycle of panic and eventually acceptance whenever there is new media:

Every new panic develops as if it was the first time such issues were debated in public and yet the debates are strikingly similar. This amnesia is closely related to another common characteristic of the panics: their historical incorporation. The intense preoccupation with the latest media fad, immediately relegates older media to the shadows of acceptance (1999: 610).

Drotner considers these panics as “intrinsic” and “recurrent features of modernity” characterised by “complex constellation of generational, cultural and existential power struggles through which adults seek to negotiate definitions of character-forming in order to balance fundamental dilemmas of modernity” (1999: 543). In this context, the concerns and hopes about the implications of the internet and smartphones for children and families are not new. Similar to the research and debates on the implications of the internet and smartphones for children and families, the implications of radio and television for children and family life has been subject to extensive research and scholarly debate (see Anderson, 1939; Dillon-Malone, 1965; Lyle, 1972; Lyle and Hoffman, 1972; Comstock, 1975; Abel, 1976; Greenfield and Beagles-Roos, 1988; St.Peters et al., 1991; Morley, 1992; Morley, 2000; Scannel, 2007; Livingstone, 2009). Just like the dichotomy about the implications of the internet and smartphones for children and family life, research on pre-internet media and its implications for children and family relationships present a dichotomy. Similar to the current debate about the implications of internet and smartphones for children, back in the 1930s, the good and harmful effects of radio on children and thus, the need for parental supervision and control of children's access to radio programmes was subject to scholarly debate (Anderson, 1939: 316). Again, similar to the recognition of the role of the internet and smartphones in children’s education and entertainment, radio was recognised as an education and entertainment instrument that was significant in promoting children’s interests in certain areas such as public speaking, debating, musical and dramatic activities. A study that explored the cognitive impact of radio vs. television on children found that although audio-visual presentations led to greater overall recall, dialogue was better recalled in audio format whilst action was better recalled in the audio-visual format (Greenfield and Beagles-Roos, 1988). The author of this study discusses that children socialised by the television may be more knowledgeable but less imaginative, verbally precise and mentally active than earlier generations who

had the radio as the major medium of socialisation (p. 97-88). On the other hand, it was also recognised that radio meant new challenges in ensuring children's supervision about what they were listening to but also in terms of managing the impact of the certain radio content on the children and the time spent by children in listening to the radio. In this context, we can even see the suggestion of schools incorporating radio appreciation classes into their curriculum (Anderson, 1939: 318).

With regards to television, there have been strong views about its disruptive impact on families and society in general. It is argued that the emergence of television abolished the information hierarchy structure and homogenised its audience. This led to a decline in secrecy/shame, without which Neil Postman (1994, cited in Simmons, 2009: 15) argued that there is 'no such thing as childhood'. Postman also discussed that children started to access adult information or the adult world through communication technologies at increasingly much younger ages, which was causing the concept of childhood to ebb away. Similarly, Marie Winn (1984, cited in Simmons, 2000: 15) argued that children's containment by their parents was now restricted with parents having little control over their children's exposure to adult sexuality, human brutality and violence, all aspects of sicknesses, diseases and suffering, natural and man-made disasters, all of which can affect and influence them. George Gerbner and his colleagues summarises this process below:

In the course of the 19th and 20th centuries the mass media, first through print and then through radio, film, records and finally television, have steadily enlarged the range and depth of their penetration into the once private sphere of the family. Unlike the schools which gain familial authority through the exercise of state certification and power (e.g. compulsory schooling and truancy laws), the mass media have gained even more impressive access without any formal authority or special certification. Television in particular has achieved virtually universal access to the most protected audience of all: children. Moreover, this access takes the form of an almost seamless web of information, entertainment and persuasion--all serving to embody and cultivate opinions, beliefs and values which maintain the "natural" order of things as they are (Gerbner et al., 1980: 3).

As pointed out by Gerbner and his colleagues, pre-internet media, particularly radio and television, gained universal access to all homes, facilitating children's and families' exposure to various content without requiring any permission or consent apart from self-restrictions by families. Again, as highlighted in the above quote, other than parents and

family members, there were now remote but very close media that were accessing children and having their influence on children's and other family members' perceptions, opinions, beliefs and values. This in a way meant that the longstanding hierarchy or the patterns of children's access to information was undergoing significant transformation. To some extent, this is contextual to the research findings regarding how digital technologies are leading to a power imbalance between "digital natives" and "digital immigrants".

A study that looked into children's media use found that television was the medium causing most parental complaints followed by radio and recordings (Lyle and Hoffman, 1972: 165). The source of complaints was found to be content-related for television and the volume of music for the radio and recordings. Furthermore, a study that looked at the relationship between the amount of television watching and level of family tension concluded that there were higher tension levels in families with high levels of television watching (Rosenblatt and Cunningham, 1976: 110). A more robust conclusion of this study was that household members used television to avoid or limit tense interaction with one another.

Alongside concerns about the negative impact of television on parent-child and family relationships, research highlights the positive implications of television for parent-child and family relationships. For example, in a small experimental study of fifteen Hispanic parent-child dyads (Williams et al., 1979, cited in Gerbner et al., 1980: 27), three groups were compared to explore whether television could stimulate and facilitate parent-child interactions more than other methods alone. One group had to interact in terms of something seen on the experimental stimulus, another could not base conversations on television and a third served as a control. In the TV group, it was found that parents were more likely to initiate interaction while children usually began the interaction in the non-TV group. The study found that television content was easily integrated into interaction and led to longer interactions. Similar to the current positive role that the internet and internet-related activities play for children's entertainment and learning, research carried out in 1955-6 indicates that soon after its introduction television also became children's main leisure activity, leading to children in television households spending more time indoors with their parents and sharing more interests with them (Himmelweit, Oppenheim and Vince, 1958, cited in Livingstone, 2009: 153). It was also found that children's

television viewing was an activity involving considerable levels of conversation with parents, siblings and peers (Lyle and Hoffman, 1972: 137, 170; Lyle, 1972: 8). Similarly, it was found that the children across all age and sex groups rated the television as a primary source of entertainment whilst it was also rated highest as a means for relaxation and reducing loneliness (Lyle and Hoffman, 1972: 180). Furthermore, the same study found that both children and parents felt that the children were learning from the television (p. 136).

Alongside the positive and negative implications of television for parent-child and family relationships, the impact of parental television modelling behaviour has also been studied. A large-scale online survey – based on a sample of 1,550 parents with children in all age groups and 629 adolescents aged 12-17 –, exploring how parental television viewing impacted on children's television viewing found a close and positive relationship between parental television time and child television time across all ages (Bleakley et al., 2013). Also, parental television time was found to impact on child television time more than parental rules around television viewing, co-viewing and children's access to television in the home or in their room. The study concluded that a greater focus on parents' television viewing and raising parents' awareness about the association between their own viewing and their child's viewing can be an effective intervention to reduce television time among children. Again, a much earlier study (Jeffries-Fox and Gerbner, 1977, cited in Gerbner, 1980: 29) reported a positive association between parents' media exposure and their tendency not to impose rules for their children's viewing. In other words, the more parents viewed television, the less likely they were to have rules about their children's television viewing. Another study looking at young children's (3-5 years old) viewing patterns with and without their parents and how their parents contributed to their media use found that parental viewing choices, patterns and parents' attitudes towards television were impacting on children's viewing both with and without parents (St. Peters et al., 1991: 1409). The study also found that parents who were encouraging children's television viewing were more involved in co-viewing than non-encouraging parents. Furthermore, another study found that due to the significance of television in the lives of children, parents would tend to use television deprivation as a punishment (Lyle and Hoffman, 1972: 169) in discouraging children's undesirable behaviours.

All of these findings indicate that similar to new ICTs, the positive and negative implications of pre-internet media technologies were felt by families and communities at the time those technologies were the most pervasive, re-affirming that the discourses we are experiencing nowadays about the new ICTS are very similar to previous discourses regarding the emergence of new media.

On a separate note, although media such as radio and television predate the internet, they continue to heavily exist in people's lives, along with the wide range of internet-connected devices which also provide access to radio and television. As a result, there are far more opportunities for accessing media not only in the homes but on the go everywhere and anytime. It is therefore discussed that TV remains the predominant medium although TV programming is increasingly being viewed on alternative platforms and via different devices, i.e. computers, iPads, or cell phones (Strasburger and Mogan, 2013: 2).

The Implications of the Internet for Children and Families

There is a wide range of research carried out to unravel the implications of the internet for children and families. Whilst some studies highlight the benefits, others consider the negative implications of the internet for children and families. With growing access to the internet at much younger ages and increasing frequency of access, the challenges that children and families experience also get more diversified and complicated. Children's access to various activities through internet can cause a constant struggle between children and their parents as parents "try to balance the socio-educational advantages of media use and the negative influence of some content or mediated contact on children's attitudes, behaviour or safety" (Livingstone and Helsper, 2008: 581). As such, developing an understanding of how the internet access is impacting on children and families is important. In line with this, in the next sections the negative and positive implications of the internet for children and families will be reviewed.

The Positive Implications of the Internet for Children and Families

As highlighted by John Shedd (1928), "*a ship in a harbor is safe, but that is not what ships are built for*". Like ships, exploration is key for human beings to learn, enjoy and

develop. As individuals, we like to explore because of our curiosity, which is embedded in our nature and is a significant instinct that prompts us to learn and develop in every sense. This curiosity could sometimes be prompted by an urge to understand things whilst sometimes it can be due to boredom or us looking for something interesting or fun. As a tool that connects individuals to various and endless content, information, news, entertainment and other miscellaneous activities - visual and non-visual - internet has become the most popular resource for individuals, feeding their curiosity and alleviating people's sense of boredom through continuously updated content, activities and functions. Linking with this, there is research indicating that internet can provide benefits for children and families (Craft, 2012; Livingstone and Helsper, 2009; Hasebrink et al., 2009; Plantin and Daneback, 2009 Kennedy et al., 2008; Sarkadi and Bremberg, 2005; Blackburn and Read, 2005). The opportunities that the internet provides for children have been highlighted as "learning", "communication", "participation", "creativity", "expression" and "entertainment" (Livingstone and Helsper, 2010). In a Europe-wide study conducted as part of EU Kids Online Project (Hasebrink et al., 2009: 9), these opportunities were categorized into "content", "conduct" and "contact" opportunities. To elaborate on these, content opportunities are internet activities whereby the children are recipients of information through access to global information, educational resources, diversity of resources and advice in general (e.g. personal, health, sexual, etc.). All these activities are experiences that promote children's understanding and their learning. In terms of conduct opportunities, these are internet activities whereby the children are actors through expression of identity, user-generated content creation, concrete forms of civic engagement and self-initiated and collaborative forms of learning and education. As for contact opportunities, which are internet activities whereby the children are active as participants, these are experiences such as social networking, shared experiences with distant others, being invited or inspired to participate in a creative process, exchange among interest groups and contact with others who share one's interests. These activities are discussed to be significant in terms of children's development. Reinforcing these findings, in a different research (NSPCC, 2017: 6) carried out with 1,696 11-18 year-olds, young people expressed that they value internet-facilitated opportunities for fun, communication, self-expression, self-representation, creativity and online autonomy.

Similarly, research highlights that the internet allows parents to access health, education, parenting and leisure-related information as well as enabling them to network with one another for support (Plantin and Daneback, 2009; Sarkadi and Bremberg, 2005; Blackburn and Read, 2005). As for the specific benefits of the internet for the children, it is highlighted that with the internet access, children and young people are exposed to a lot more information and content compared to the pre-digital era (Craft, 2012). This has led to children gaining a much more developed understanding and knowledge of the world whilst enabling the children to participate, contribute and influence a lot more in general:

Children and young people are now able to develop a sense of identity, meaning, direction, and even life course progress, through local and global, actual and virtual engagement with others. Use of digital tools (which often facilitate a more developed sense of agency than in a face-to-face context) means children and young people are greatly empowered (i.e. with far greater personally-derived and controlled agency) compared with their counterparts fifty years ago (Craft, 2012: 176).

Furthermore, a large-scale survey carried out in the USA showed that the internet allows families to connect and coordinate their lives more easily (Kennedy et al., 2008: 3-4). The survey also highlighted that the internet facilitates a shared moment of exploration and entertainment for families, leading to shared family time together. Echoing these views, other researchers contend that internet use is not harmful for family relationships and online time does not displace time with family and time spent in family communication (e.g., Sklovski et al., 2004; Lee and Kuo, 2002; Kraut et al., 2002). Some researchers argue that internet use may improve interaction with friends and family and can supplement face-to-face interaction among family members (Kraut et al., 2002; Howard, Rainie and Jones, 2001; Wellman et al., 2001).

Another survey, carried out in the USA in 2014, found that parents were using social media frequently to respond to good news, usually by liking or commenting on positive status updates by others as well as receiving useful information and gaining support for themselves (Duggan et al., 2015: 2). Mothers were found to be more active users of social media, receiving more support regarding parenting issues. In terms of social networking sites, Facebook was the most frequently used portal followed by Pinterest and LinkedIn. The survey also highlighted that parents largely saw social media as a source of useful

information and options. Similarly, a large-scale study (Rudi et al., 2015: 86) that looked at parents' use of four widely used ICTs (text message, email, social networking sites and Skype) found that parents who were active users of internet-connected digital devices and social media applications were using these for communication with family members. The study also revealed that parents use social networking sites and video conferencing for visual and text contact with extended family members whilst preferring email and text messages to make contact with their children (particularly adolescent children) and their child's other parent. Moreover, an Australia-wide online survey carried out with 523 parents revealed that parents use social media as a source of parenting support (Haslam et al., 2017: 2026). According to the study, parents reported using various social media sites such as Facebook, parenting websites and blogs for parenting support purposes.

The Negative Implications of the Internet for Children and Families

Alongside the research that highlights the various benefits of the internet for children and families, a large body of research discusses the negative implications of the internet for children and families. In particular, how the internet is changing patterns of family time, family interaction, relationships and traditional family roles have been widely studied (see Mesch, 2006a and 2006b; Lee and Chae, 2007; Mesch, 2003; Nie, Hillygus and Erbring, 2002; Kraut, 1998; Sklovski et al., 2004, Lee and Kuo, 2002, Kraut et al., 2002). Gustavo Mesch (2006a: 487-491) discusses that one consequence of internet connection has been that it has led to widespread conflict within families as it has brought new challenges in terms of parent-adolescent relationships in areas of adolescent autonomy, parental authority and control of the computer. An interesting finding of his study was that in families where adolescents were seen as computer experts, conflict was more likely as this led to a power imbalance in adolescent-parent relationship and challenged the traditional family role in which it is usually parents who provide guidance and expertise. Also, conflicts were found to be more prevalent in large families and this is discussed to be potentially related to the competition between siblings over computer time. Furthermore, conflict was found to be more likely in families where parents were concerned about the potential negative implications of the internet use. These findings are interesting in terms of demonstrating how ICTs are affecting traditional familial hierarchies and how family structures can be vulnerable to developing internet and communication technologies.

Further research indicates that the internet can weaken family ties and relationships as it displaces time with family and reduces the time family members spend together in common activities (Lee and Chae, 2007; Mesch, 2003; Nie, Hillygus and Erbring, 2002; Kraut 1998). It is also argued that parents and adolescents worry that internet use might negatively affect family communication, closeness and family time (Nie et al., 2004; Jackson et al., 2003; Turow and Nir, 2000). For example, in one of the studies, adolescents associated internet use with reduced family time, reporting that internet use does not help them improve their relationship with their parents (Lenhart, Rainie, and Lewis, 2001). In terms of the impact of internet use on the quality of family time, research indicates that low use of the internet by adolescents is positively associated with adolescents' relationship with their parents and friends, whilst high internet use by adolescents is negatively associated with adolescents' relationship with their parents and friends (Mesch, 2001; Sanders et al., 2000). On the other hand, a positive relationship is found between adolescents and parents' time and family cohesion and a negative relationship with family conflicts (Mesch, 2006b).

Another research carried out with Korean elementary school students (Lee and Chae, 2007: 642) demonstrates a significant relationship between internet use for communication and perceived decline in family communication. The study concluded a positive relationship between the amounts of time children used the internet and perceived decline in family time. It also found that using online games was a more significant factor than the total amount of time spent online in users' perceived decline in family time. Additionally, the total time using the internet was not related to a perceived decline in family communication but a decline in family time; however, playing online games was most significantly related to users' perceived decline in family communication. This presents similarities with previous research whereby adolescents' use of the internet for social and leisure purposes was found to be positively associated with family conflicts (Mesch, 2006b: 134).

Alongside the implications of the internet use for family relationships in general, there is also a lot of research that highlights the risks that children are facing or could face through internet use, which in turn impacts on families in terms of the risks/challenges and the

related family dynamics parents may have to manage. Through the unlimited and endless virtual platform that the internet provides, children can engage in or be exposed to unsafe online content and activities, especially when accessing content or performing internet activity unsupervised (Livingstone and Haddon, 2008). As a result, they can experience a number of online risks such as encountering pornography, violence and content on suicide, anorexia, drugs etc. They can also be exposed to racist or hateful contact and content as well as misinformation, contact with unsafe strangers, grooming or harassment, bullying or privacy invasions (Livingstone and Haddon, 2008). These experiences can be severely damaging for children's emotional and social well-being and they could also have implications for family dynamics as any harm that affects children concerns/affects the family unit as a whole.

The risks that children face online have been the focus of the EU Kids Online Project, a large-scale Europe-wide research. The first study in the series led the researchers to categorize the risks that children face online as “content risks”, “contact risks” and “conduct risks” (Hasebrink et al., 2009). Elaborating further on these, content risks, which are internet activities whereby the children are recipients, include risks such as advertising, exploitation of personal information, violent web content, problematic sexual web content, biased information, racism, blasphemy and health “advice”. Risky internet activities whereby children are actors comprise risks that include illegal downloads, sending offensive messages to peers, cyberbullying someone else, happy slapping and publishing porn. As for contact risks, which are risky internet activities whereby children are participants, they include activities such as more sophisticated exploitation, children being tracked by advertising, being harassed, stalked, bullied, being groomed, arranging for offline contacts and being supplied with misinformation.

The follow-up study (EU Kids Online survey of 9-16 year olds and their parents in 25 countries conducted in 2010) found that the most common risky online activity reported by the children was “communicating with new people not met face-to-face” (Livingstone et al., 2011). Exposure to potentially harmful user-generated content (hate, pro-anorexia, self-harm, drug-taking, or suicide) was identified to be the second riskiest activity online. This was followed by pornography (seeing pornographic content), sexting (receiving or sending sexual messages), bullying (receiving or sending nasty or hurtful messages) and misuse of personal data. Furthermore, it was found that children were going online more,

at much younger ages and in more diverse ways. The study drew attention to the fact that it is becoming much harder for parents to guide their children' online activities as they are now going online on more personal and mobile devices. The findings from the same study found that content risks bothered children most (Livingstone et al., 2013). These were followed by conduct- and contact-related risks, with children linking video-sharing websites mostly with violent and pornographic content and with other content risks. In terms of risks, comparing the 2010 findings from the EU Kids Online with the findings from Net Children Go Mobile 2014 survey, it was found that there was an increase of risk in certain areas whilst a slight reduction in some other areas (EU Kids Online, 2014). Compared to the 2010 findings, more risk was reported by young people in the following areas; seeing sexual images, seeing websites where people publish hate messages that attacks certain groups or individuals, seeing websites where people promote eating disorders (such as being very skinny, anorexic and bulimic), meeting online contact offline, seeing websites where people talk about or share their experience of taking drugs, seeing websites where people talk about ways of harming or hurting themselves, cyberbullying and seeing websites where people discuss way of committing suicide. Compared to the 2010 findings, less risk was reported regarding having contact with someone not met face to face before and receiving sexual messages. Reinforcing these findings, a different research (NSPCC, 2017: 6) carried out with 1,696 11-18 year olds found that interaction with strangers (unwanted friend requests and sexual and offensive messages) and inappropriate content (violence, hatred, sexual, bullying) were risky experiences identified by young people. All these findings indicate the level and sort of challenges that children and families are facing and can face on a daily basis and how families are therefore in a constant battle of not only ensuring that their children are safeguarded from harmful content, conduct and contact risks but also guiding and supporting them in the aftermath of any exposure to any content, contact or conduct risks.

The Impact of Internet Use on Parent-Child Relationship

With the gradual but fast permeation of the internet and communication technologies into all spheres of life, academic research has sought to understand how these technologies are being adapted and used. However, researchers discuss that there is still limited understanding of the impact of certain-internet connected devices on families and society (see Lanette, 2018; Kushlev and Dunn, 2019). Similarly, parental internet use and the

impact of this on parent-child relationships is another area discussed to have received little attention in research (see Liu et al., 2013). This is a significant gap as research has shown that parental behaviour significantly impacts on children's online experiences (Liu et al., 2012; Law, Shapka and Olson, 2010).

From the literature review I undertook, it appears that the internet-related parent-child relationship has largely been studied in terms of the mediation strategies that parents utilize to manage and support their children's internet use. Studies (Chen and Chng, 2016; Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2013; Lee and Chae, 2012; Livingstone and Helsper, 2008; Lee and Chae, 2007) have explored how parents monitor and mediate their children's internet use, the nature of which has been argued to be strongly affecting children's online experiences either negatively or positively. Research (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2014; Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2013; Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2012; Liu et al., 2012; Livingstone and Helsper, 2008; Lee and Chae, 2007; Mesch, 2006) shows that the strategies that parents use "to control, supervise, or interpret (media) content" (Warren, 2001: 212) can impact on how children engage with the internet. Studies highlight that higher educated parents support their children's internet use through active mediation, while lower-educated families adopt more restrictive strategies when managing their children's internet use (Nikken and Oprea, 2018; Cabello-Hutt, Cabello and Claro, 2017; Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2012).

Parental mediation was initially conceptualized (Nathanson, 1999: 124-143) around how parents mediated their children's television viewing and it was categorized into three dimensions: 1) active mediation (talking about television content with children); 2) restrictive mediation (setting rules about children's television viewing); and, 3) co-viewing (watching television together with children). Since the emergence of internet communication technologies, research around parental mediation has expanded to consider internet and communication technologies. Looking at the parent-child relationship in the context of parental mediation of children's internet use, research (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2013: 129) reveals four types of parent-child relationships. This include "children who are digitally more competent than their parents and use the internet relatively independently (type 1); children who have very low skills, have started to use the internet recently and receives little support from their parents (type 2); children who

are frequent internet users and exchange information about it with their parents (type 3); and children who are strongly regulated by their parents (type 4)”.

When it comes to the communication between parents and children in the context of children’s internet use, it is argued (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2013: 117) that parent-child relationship is largely shaped by “the mediation strategies used by parents”; “the level of the child’s digital competence and literacy as perceived both by parents and child”; and “the level of proximity, trust and reciprocity between parent and child”. These factors are discussed to be determined by “child characteristics, i.e. age, gender and internet use; parental characteristics, i.e. educational capital and internet use; and national factors, i.e. internet infrastructure, political economic indicators and cultural indicators related to parenthood and childhood values”.

Research has found that open parental communication style reinforces children’s critical viewing skills, which paves the way for open discussion between children and parents in relation to their media experiences (Fujioka and Austin, 2002: 659). Reinforcing this notion, a study, which explored the implications of the mere presence of mobile phones during parent-teen interactions, found that teens and parents who were reflective about their use of technology and engaged in open communication with one another reported lower experiences of conflict within the home (Lanette, 2018: 217). The research also shows that the parent-child relationship changes as the child grows up in line with reducing trend of parental control in their children’s personal times and spaces (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2013: 114-117, see also Livingstone and Helsper, 2008; Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2012). However, teenagers who have good communication with their parents are found to be more protected from the negative experiences of internet use (Liu et al., 2012; Park, Kim and Cho, 2008). In fact, it is strongly emphasized that the quality of communication between parents and adolescents is much more significant than investing in monitoring and controlling teenagers’ internet use (Law, Shapka and Olson, 2010). Validating this point, it is found that parents largely model their children’s online experiences (Liu et al., 2012), highlighting again that parents’ modelling behaviours are more significant than parental norms:

The most important monitoring and controlling that parents can do is to monitor their own behaviour and control their own words and actions that discourage children from being open and communicative (Kerr and Stattin, 2000: 378).

In parallel with this, research has found that there isn't a positive correlation between increased parental mediation and reduced online risks (Livingstone and Helsper, 2008: 596), taking us back to the assertion that parental influence can be much higher when parents model the guidance they give to their children (Bandura, 1977; Kerr and Stattin, 2000).

The differences in child-parent digital competence and their literacy skills are also thought to be affecting the relationship between children and their parents in the context of internet use. New generations, - defined as “digital natives” - have been growing with digital devices and therefore can be more digital and internet-savvy than some parents defined as “digital immigrants”. This has led to the concept of “reverse socialization” in which parents learn from their children (Hoikkala, 2004; Buckingham, 2006). In other words, there are children who know more about ICTs than their parents especially when parental education is low, which is described as a situation that can cause intergenerational conflicts (Lenhart, Raine and Oliver, 2001; Turow, 2001; Kiessler et al., 2000; Mesch, 2003; Turow and Nir, 2000). At the same time, it is discussed that children who are more ICT savvy than their parents can be less competent in this area compared to their peers who have access to better education (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2012).

In this context, it is further highlighted that socioeconomic status, which impacts on parents' cognitive, social and cultural resources, influence parents' ability to guide and support their children in the internet society (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2013; Clark, Demont-Heinrich and Weber, 2005). Research has found that despite being aware of the importance of the internet in their children's lives, parents from lower-income families struggle to promote their children's ICT skills (Clark, Demont-Heinrich and Weber, 2005). It is also discussed that gender and the accompanying socio-cultural beliefs often affect the way parents manage their children's internet use, in that there can be more of a tendency for parents to monitor and control their daughters' use more than their sons' (Livingstone and Helsper, 2008; Alvarez-Garcia et al., 2019).

As for the impacts of parent's own media behaviour on children, a study that explored the impact of parents' screen time and screen distractions on parent-child relationships, including frequency of use and caregiver responsiveness during use, found a significant

positive relationship between parental screen time and child screen time (Blackman, 2015). The study concluded that digitally distracted parents were less responsive to their children. Research further highlights that constant internet-connectedness could have “subtle costs for the fabric of social life” as a result of interference with parent-child time, which is discussed to be undermining the parent-child connection (Kushlev and Dunn, 2019: 1619). This does require attention especially given that meaningful interactions with others are significant for individuals’ emotional well-being, their day-to-day feelings of social connection and satisfaction (Reis et al., 2000), but also in light of the fact that parenting can be a significant source of psychological satisfaction, happiness and social connection for parents (Nelson et al., 2013; Nelson, Kushlev and Lyubomirsky, 2014).

Research has found that internet use reduces the time spent with family and friends leading to social isolation and a reduction in the number and meaningfulness of face-to-face interactions which are all important for individuals’ emotional well-being (Nie, Hillygus and Erbring, 2002). Another research found a positive relationship between adolescents’ internet use and decline in their time with their family, with reports from adolescents that internet use worsens their relationship with their parents (Lenhart, Rainie and Lewis, 2001). The same research found a positive relationship between frequency of adolescents’ internet use and declines in family cohesion. Also, it found a positive relationship between adolescents’ internet use for social and leisure purposes and family conflicts. These findings are significant especially given that research has found a positive relationship between adolescents and parents’ time and family cohesion and a negative relationship with family conflicts (Mesch, 2006b). In terms of the impact of internet use on the quality of family time, research indicates a positive relationship between low use of the internet by adolescents and their relationship with their parents and friends (Sanders et al., 2000). A study that looked at the impact of distracted parenting at home while watching TV, answering the phone and using the computer on children's risky behaviours found that parental responsiveness, attention and engagement significantly reduced during parents’ distractions (Boles and Roberts, 2008: 839). The study also found that children demonstrated higher risky behaviour during parental distractions with the nuance that younger children were more likely to engage in risky behaviour when compared to older children.

A different study concluded that there is a negative correlation between the time adolescents spend online and both the quantity and quality of the relationship between them and their parents, in that the adolescents who reported spending more time online reported less parent-child and family time (Schols, 2015: 48). This study also found that the use of the internet for educational purposes was positively associated with the time spent with parents by the adolescents. Furthermore, the study found that spending time with friends was positively related to the time spent with parents (Schols, 2015: 48-56). Other studies have also concluded that internet use for learning or educational purposes is perceived positively by parents and is not related to family conflicts or perceived to be interfering with family time and family cohesion (Mesch, 2003; Mesch, 2006b). Similar results were found in later research (Lee and Chae, 2007) whereby internet use for educational purposes was not positively associated with perceived decline in family time. A recent research indicated that children's use of the internet for learning resulted in a higher feeling of parental social connectedness (Kushlev and Dunn, 2019: 1627). These findings indicate that the nature of children's online activities could have different implications for parent-child and family relationships. While internet use for learning and educational purposes is valued both by young people and parents, non-educational internet use, in other words internet use for social and leisure purposes could result in conflicts between parents and their children due to these type of use contradicting with parental expectations.

The Impact of Smartphones on Parent-Child Relationship

Thanks to the vast range of benefits and functions they provide as internet-connected, mobile and individual devices, smartphones have become indispensable for most people with an ever-growing dependency on them. The relationship between individuals and their mobile phones has become so intense that mobile phones are now considered an essential part of our day-to-day functioning whilst being constantly connected has become a way of life to meet the pressures and demands of the current age.

Ofcom's 2020 Communications Market Report reveals that mobile phone take-up has become almost universal in the UK, with 98% of homes having them (Ofcom, 2020a). The same report indicates that mobile phones are becoming the most widely used device

by children as they become older in accessing the internet with mobile phones accounting for 50% of 12-15 years old children's internet access amongst all devices (games console, smart TV, computer, mobile phone and tablet). Again, according to Ofcom's 2020 online nation report, smartphones have become the most popular internet-connected device (Ofcom, 2020b). Furthermore, UKOM's September 2020 data demonstrates that parents spend their online time mostly via smartphones (72%) (UKOM, 2020). All this data show the extent mobile phones are dominating individuals' lives, the growing dependency on them and their various implications (Gergen, 2002; Middleton, 2007).

Mobile phones meet various individual needs by serving multiple functions which can lead individuals to use them more often than other devices. According to Xavier Carbonell and his colleagues (2013: 902), there are a number of reasons that lead to people using mobile phones more frequently. Firstly, mobile phones have a range of benefits as a multifunction device serving different functions such as phone, music player, alarm clock, calculator, map, camera, recorder and more. Secondly, mobile phones serve as a form of entertainment during leisure and waiting times. Thirdly, mobile phones can lead to a feeling of euphoria or feeling valued/loved through messages/calls received. Lastly, mobile phones have led to an emotional connection with their bearer and have become part of individuals' identity. As a consequence, mobile phones are increasingly becoming irresistible, habit-forming and gratifying (Oulasvirta et al., 2011: 105; Carbonell et al., 2013). For some, the dependency on mobile phones is to an extent that they struggle with being offline even temporarily, or resisting the temptation to constantly check or respond to alerts on their devices (Jarvenpaa and Lang, 2005: 11; Oulasvirta et al., 2011: 105-114).

It is discussed that triggers of habit-forming behaviour can be related to both internal states and external events. For example, a lack of stimulation or a desire to stay updated could lead to the constant checking behaviour to see what is available or new. Additionally, the mobile device itself – its constant visibility/proximity – can reinforce the constant checking behaviour for stimulation or the desire to stay up-to-date. This leads to individuals developing a “symbiotic and intense relationship with their mobile devices”, while many individuals experience discomfort when they have to disconnect temporarily (Carbonell et al., 2013: 901; Horrigan, 2009: 4; Jarvenpaa and Lang, 2005: 12). At the same time, it is argued that the empowerment of individuals through

permanent connectivity leads to the paradoxical effect of enslavement (Jarvenpaa and Lang, 2005: 11-13).

But how does this constant dependence or intense relationship play out in the context of parent-child and family relationships? Research carried out so far highlights that mobile phones can have significant negative implications for parents' meaningful interaction with their children, which is crucial for children's appropriate emotional, social, cognitive and language development (Sbarra, Briskin and Slatcher, 2019; Kushlev and Dunn, 2019; McDaniel and Radesky, 2018 and Stockdale; Cole and Padilla-Walker, 2018; Moser, Schoenebeck and Reinecke, 2016; McDaniel and Coyne, 2016; Radesky et al., 2015; McDaniel, 2015; Hiniker et al., 2015; Radesky et al., 2014). Due to the constant connectivity that mobile devices provide, a worry is that screen time will replace other enriching interactive family activities (Radesky et al., 2014: e844). One of the first studies that looked at how technology might interfere during interactions between partners when parenting their children found that technofence¹⁰ happened mostly during parents' playtime or free time with their children (McDaniel, 2015: 11-12). It further found that tecnofence decreases the coordination between family members during co-parenting interactions and negatively impacts on how parents feel about the quality of co-parenting with their partners. Similar findings were found in a subsequent study that looked at how often mothers perceived technological distractions as interfering with co-parenting, parenting and co-parenting quality (McDaniel and Coyne, 2016: 441). Almost half of participants perceived cell/smartphones, computers, or television as interfering in co-parenting interactions sometimes or more often, with the cell/smartphone being rated as interfering most frequently. Additionally, technology interruptions were related to lower relationship satisfaction, higher maternal depressive symptoms and lower co-parenting satisfaction.

Another study carried out on the patterns of mobile device use (smartphones, tablets) by caregivers and children during meals in fast food restaurants found that children were not seeking attention or conversation with their caregivers when their caregivers were continuously absorbed by their device (Radesky et al., 2014: e847). Additionally, many

¹⁰ Technofence is about times when and ways that technological devices intrude, interrupt and/or get in the way of couple or family communication and interactions in everyday life (McDaniel, 2015: 1).

children were observed to push boundaries or demonstrate provocative behaviours during adults' device absorption. The absorption included "gazing primarily at the device, keeping the gaze on the device while answering questions or giving instructions to others, having a longer latency to respond to bids, or not responding to bids from others". It also found that the caregiver's absorption in the device led to non-attention to children's behaviour for a while and then a sudden reaction in a scolding manner and giving repeated robotic instructions. Lack of sensitivity to the children's expressed needs or using physical responses (one female adult kicking a child's foot under the table; another female caregiver pushing a young boy's hands away when he was trying to repeatedly lift her face up from looking at a tablet screen) were other observations of this study. These findings indicate that parental absorption in mobile devices leads to supervision issues and an inconsistency in parental responses to children's behaviour and needs. This supports the paradox of absent presence (Gergen, 2002: 227), which Kenneth Gergen explains as below:

We are present but simultaneously rendered absent; we have been erased by an absent presence... One is physically present, but is absorbed by a technologically mediated world elsewhere.

In another study whereby parent-child interaction was examined during a structured parent-child interaction task (consumption of familiar and unfamiliar food), it was found that mobile device use was common and mothers with mobile device use interacted less with their children verbally and non-verbally than parents who didn't use a device when averaged across all foods (Radesky et al., 2015: 238-244). Additionally, perceptions around the appropriateness of mobile phone use during mealtime has also been subject to another study. Moser, Schoenebeck and Reinecke (2016) found that although adult mobile phone use at mealtime was rated as more appropriate than children doing so, having a child present at the mealtime decreased the perceived appropriateness of adult phone use. In a more recent research, it was found that parents feel less attentive, more distracted and as a result, less socially connected when they use their smartphone phones frequently while spending time with their children use (Kushlev and Dunn, 2019). In other words, parents who were maximizing their phone use whilst with their children reported lower subjective attention quality than parents who were asked to minimize their phone. Reinforcing these findings, a study looking at how adults used mobile phones while caring for their children at the playground, showed that there was a notable

difference between adults' ability to be responsive to children's bids for attention when they were and when they were not using mobile phones (Hiniker et al., 2015: 6). Adults who were not using mobile phones were found to have the ability to be interrupted when children were seeking attention and were able to respond with a prompt reply. In contrast, adults who were using mobile phones did not respond to children's bids for attention. The study also found that the majority of participants reported negative emotional experiences of engaging with technology when their children were in their care. It was also found that half of the participants expressed wanting to reduce their mobile phone use but their lack of ability to do so, indicating a gap between desired and actual patterns of use and non-use. This is echoed in another study whereby parents express discontent regarding the use of technology around their children due to its negative impact on their parenting (Radesky et al., 2016).

In this context, Kildare and Middlemiss (2017: 579-593) draw attention to the paradox of personal urge to use and the social pressure to respond quickly to calls/messages and how this leads to uninterrupted connection, use and reliance on mobile devices. They highlight that parents' continuous connection, use and reliance on their mobile devices risk interruption/disruption in their interactions with their children. They highlight that the literature they have examined suggests that:

Parents who use their phones during parent-child interactions are less sensitive and responsive both verbally and nonverbally to their children's bids for attention, potentially leading to lower quality parent-child interactions. Children engage in risky attention seeking behaviours, which may be connected to the increase in childhood injuries. Parents and children express concern over device use as well as its contribution to family conflicts.

Exploring how parents' social media use - which is one of the many functions of smartphones - affects parent-child attachment while parents care for their children, another study found that only 10% of parents felt their social media caused distraction in caring for their children or putting them at risk, which the researchers discuss that it is unknown whether this is due to parents lacking awareness about the impact of device use on parental availability and presence (Ante-Contreras, 2016: 30-35). The study also found a positive correlation between parental hours spent on social media per day and authoritarian parenting style, in that parents with high hours of social media use may

resort to inappropriate ways of managing their children's behaviour as opposed to seeking meaningful interaction with them to explore their behaviour

Children's negative perceptions about parental smartphone use are illustrated through a class work exercise during which 7–8 year olds were asked to write about an invention they don't like and 4 out of 21 children are reported to have written about smartphones. Below is one of these children's remarks:

"I don't like the phone because my parents are on the phone every day. A phone is sometimes a really bad habit. I hate my mum's phone and I wish she never had one" (I wish mum's phone was never invented, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-trending-44224319> accessed on 01.12.2018).

Moreover, a study (McDaniel and Radesky, 2018) carried out in the US found that half of the surveyed parents felt that using technology disrupted their interactions with their children three or more times a day. As part of this study, 170 two-parent US families, whose children were aged just over 3 years, were surveyed regarding their use of smartphones, laptops, tablets and other technological devices and how these devices interfered with the time spent together in the family. Aiming to explore whether parents' heavy technology use positively correlated with interruptions in parent child-relationship and whether these interruptions led to child behaviour issues, the study found that there was a positive association between even low or what is considered "normal" levels of technofence and higher levels of child behaviour issues such as oversensitivity, irritability, hyperactivity and whining. The study concluded that mother-child and father-child interactions were significantly interfered by paternal and maternal problematic technology use whilst perceived maternal technofence was linked with children's externalizing (e.g. "can't sit still, restless, or hyperactive," "easily frustrated," and "temper tantrums or hot temper") and internalizing behaviours (e.g. "whining," "sulks a lot," and "feelings are easily hurt") both by the mothers and the fathers. Similarly, a recent large scale study that explored both parent and child technofence and its implications found that adolescents' perceptions of their parents' technofence were related to lower perceived parental-warmth levels, which was associated with higher negative and lower positive adolescent behavior (Stockdale, Cole and Padilla-Walker, 2018: 224). Also, adolescents associated parental technofence with increased anxiety, depression, cyberbullying and lower prosocial behaviours due to low levels of perceived parental

warmth. On the other hand, adolescents' positive perceptions of parental warmth were associated with decreased anxiety, depression and increased prosocial behaviour towards family, friends and civic engagement. The researchers hypothesized that adolescents' negative behaviours, such as cyberbullying and their positive behaviours, such as prosocial behaviour towards family and strangers and being involved in the community, can be their attempt of regaining parental attention that is interrupted by the technology.

Research indicates that although mobile phones empower teenagers and help them to become more independent, they can also serve as a means of extending parental authority and control outside of the home by invading children's outdoor space through regular parental access to them (Williams and Williams, 2005: 314-315). Another finding of this research was that parents can be more flexible with children's home time if their children possess a phone as this enables them to remain in contact with them and thus, can be a bargaining chip in teenagers' negotiations with their parents.

With children's increasing constant connectivity to the internet via multiple digital and portable devices, parents' role in protecting and empowering their children gains much more significance (Cappello, 2015: 9), especially given that parents remain "the most influential people in the development and socialization of children (and), carry the primary responsibility for guiding their children's media behaviour" (Sonck, Nikken and de Haan, 2013: 96). It is argued that parenting patterns (e.g. constructive communication around internet use, parental rules etc.) are influential in promoting or preventing internet-related problems (Van den Eijnden et al., 2010). Research also shows that parental internet use and the nature of the parent-child relationship affect young people's online experiences (Van den Eijnden et al., 2010; Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2013). This all highlights the significance of parents' role in supporting, guiding and modelling their children's internet and digital device use. As emphasized by social learning theory (Bandura, 1977), parents model their children's behaviour. Parents' own behaviour can reinforce their children's negative or positive behaviour, which is as a key factor that impacts on how children view certain behaviours as normal or abnormal. Again, as highlighted by attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969), strong-parent child attachment is crucial for children's healthy cognitive and emotional development as their ability to relate to others and explore the outside world is impacted by this. Attachment theory

highlights that if parents are not appropriately attentive, sensitive and supportive, children may use manipulative strategies to get their parents' attention, which could prove to be maladaptive in other settings. At a time whereby parental attention is found to be significantly curtailed by parents' own internet use and parental behaviour is found to be modelling children's online experiences (McDaniel and Radesky, 2017; Kushlev and Dunn, 2019; Law, Shapka and Olson, 2010; Liu et al., 2012: 1273), good parenting becomes more fundamental.

Digital Inequality and its Implications for Disadvantaged Children

Researchers argue that digital inequalities exacerbate the existing inequalities (van Deursen, 2020; d'Haenens and Ogan, 2013; DiMaggio and Garip, 2012; Mesch and Talmud, 2011; Robinson et al., 2005; Di Maggio et al., 2001). Studies focusing on the digital divide have found that internet use is less likely within minority groups and that income and educational levels are determining factors in internet access (Mesch and Talmud, 2011; Kim et al., 2007; Fairlie 2007; Dupagne and Salwen, 2005). It is also discussed that social status significantly influences one's ability to reap the benefits of internet communication technologies and that those who are already in the strongest positions in societies tend to reap greater benefits from accessing and using ICTs (van Dijk, 2008: 300).

The divides in generational digital and internet competencies and literacy skills are found to be affecting the relationship between children and their parents, which suggests that there are ripple effects of low social status, low income and low educational level. The differing levels of parental awareness and involvement can lead to "protection" and "empowerment" divide (Cappello, 2015: 9). In other words, children from well-educated and technology-savvy families might be better protected and empowered than those who come from families where parents lack digital competence, skills and awareness. This again highlights that children who come from disadvantaged backgrounds can be further disadvantaged when it comes to new ICTs simply because their parents haven't got the skills or their circumstances are not conducive enough to reap the benefits of technological developments for themselves and their children. To reinforce this argument, research highlights that parents from ethnic-minority groups show limited parental involvement in their children's online experiences due to their limited

understanding, awareness and abilities (d’Haeenens and Ogan, 2013: 45). The same research, which looked into online experiences of Turkish children in Europe as well as Turkish children living in Turkey in comparison to European majority children, found that Turkish children lacked parental guidance and support in terms of their online experiences due to parents’ lack of ICT knowledge, skills and awareness (pp.57). It also found that children were better informed than their parents and how this creates complexities in terms of how parents go about managing/empowering their children’s internet use.

Adding to this, a research conducted across all European countries found that families in Turkey resorted to “restrictive mediation strategies” most whilst active mediation strategies were underrepresented (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2013: 119). The study also found a positive correlation between mediation strategies and the range of online activities: The increased restrictive mediation strategies were positively related to lower range of online activities the children used and their digital skills. On the other hand, active mediation strategies were found to be positively correlated with children’s perception of their knowledge about their internet activities. The same research analysed cross-national differences across Europe and country clusters in terms of parent-child relationships. The conclusion was that Turkey formed a cluster on its own, since almost 40 per cent of families belonged to “The Unskilled Family Type”¹¹. In contrast, the “Triple C Family”¹² type was clearly underrepresented. These findings can partly reinforce the argument that lower socio-economic status and non-Western values are positively associated with restrictive mediation strategies and an authoritarian mode of communication (du Bois-Reymond, 1999). The same research by Ingrid Paus-Hasebrink et al. (2013) concluded that Scandinavian countries were in the country cluster that correlated with the Triple C Family Type whereby high levels of active medication and low levels of restrictive mediation were fostered whilst the Unskilled Family Type was the least represented family type in this cluster. In the case of Scandinavian countries (and some other European countries), these findings are somehow congruent with the argument that there has been a shift from authoritarian parenting practices towards “authoritative negotiation”

¹¹ In this family type, “the parent-child relationships are characterized by low levels of active mediation and a strong tendency to restrictive mediation” (Paus-Hasebrink, 2013: 113).

¹² In this family type, “the parent-child relationships are characterized by high levels of active mediation and low levels of restrictive mediation” (Paus-Hasebrink, 2013: 116).

whereby there are more discussions and negotiations between parents and children although parents still retain control (Williams and Williams, 2005: 315–318). It is further argued that the educational level of families, which largely correlates with their economic circumstances, significantly influences the ways the internet is used. Children of lower educated parents are discussed to be left to their own devices when dealing with the internet. These children claim they have higher internet skills than their parents. This type of family falls into the category of “Unskilled Family” where parental education and socio-economic status are lower and communication patterns are authoritarian (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2013). Although these findings are not directly on ethnic minorities, it becomes contextual when read together with the aforementioned findings of Leen d’Haenens and Christine Ogan’s study regarding the online experiences of Turkish children in Europe and those living in Turkey in comparison to European majority children. Again, these findings are contextual and significant in terms of indicating how ethnic-minority children can become significantly disadvantaged compared to children from Triple C Family Type whereby the online experiences of the latter are characterised by high levels of active mediation and low levels of restrictive mediation. All these indicate when parents lack digital literacy skills and are potentially overwhelmed by the risks their children could face online, they tend to have a restricting/limiting approach towards their children’s online activity instead of empowering their appropriate use. Consequently, children are not equipped with appropriate digital and online skills to remain competitive with their peers when it comes to learning, employment, and other opportunities.

Research has found that parents from socially disadvantaged backgrounds resort to restrictive measures to manage their children’s internet use instead of facilitating their safe and advantageous use (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2012: 267). This is linked to parents lacking digital media literacy skills, not seeking support to improve their digital media literacy skills and as a result, not being able to guide their children. This means that children can lack support from a trusted and competent adult in their family which remains the most important place for children’s socialisation (Paus-Hasberink, Sinner and Prochazka, 2014: 11). It is further highlighted that socially disadvantaged parents are overwhelmed by their difficult day-to-day problems, as a result of which, they don’t have the mental space or practical capacity to support their children’s media use (Paus-Hasberink, Sinner and Prochazka, 2014). As such, socially disadvantaged children are

discussed to be at higher risk of experiencing online risks and harm compared to other children. All of this indicate that children from digital immigrant families, who already experience multiple disadvantages as a result of their parents' socio-economic difficulties, face the risk and disadvantage of not being appropriately supported to navigate their internet and digital technology use in a way that promotes their digital literacy skills, their access to online opportunities and their ability to cope with the online risks (Paus-Hasberink, Sinner and Prochazka, 2014).

Another research by Gustavo Mesch and Ilan Talmud (2011) reveals interesting findings regarding how ethnicity and the circumstances that come with it could impact on how the internet is viewed. Their study, which aimed to explore ethnic differences in internet access, found that Israeli Arabs were less positive about ICTs compared to Israeli Jews. The study also revealed that Israeli Arabs had lower rates of digital engagement, which was discussed to be stemming from their disadvantaged occupational status and related economic situation. Furthermore, the study found that even when the occupation variable was controlled, ethnicity remained significant as Israeli Arabs still expressed more negative attitudes about the internet than Israeli Jews.

All of the above findings offer a compelling rationale for placing the analytical focus of this study on the Turkish-speaking community in London. In particular, the research I encountered on the impact of mobile phones on parent-child and family relationships within immigrant ethnic minority communities seems to have been undertaken only in the context of transnational mothering so far (Wang and Lim, 2017; Chib et al., 2014; McGregor and Siegel, 2013; Dekker and Engbersen 2012; Bonini, 2011; Wilding, 2006; Parrenas, 2005; Parrenas, 2001). Thus, it would be interesting to explore how mobile phones are impacting on parent-child and family relationships within established, immigrant ethnic minority communities whereby children and their parents live together but may have family members who live in their home country. Studies carried out on the impact of parental smartphone use on parent-child relationship have concluded that mobile devices (mobile phones and tablets) negatively impacts on parent-child interaction, parental availability and attentiveness (e.g., Kushlev and Dunn, 2019; McDaniel and Radesky, 2018; McDaniel and Coyne, 2016; Hiniker et al., 2015; McDaniel, 2015; Radesky et al., 2014). In contrast, research on mobile phones and transnational mothering has found that mobile phones have a significant function in

parent-child relationship by facilitating distant parental presence and availability in children's lives by connecting them with one another remotely. As such, my research aims to shed light on how the integration and use of mobile phones impacts on parent-child relationship within an established, immigrant ethnic minority community whilst also illustrating the roles of smartphones in children's contact with their family members in Turkey.

The Role of Mobile Phones in Distant Family Communication and Experiences of Immigration

As means of instant connectivity, ICTs, in particular mobile phones, have transformed the experiences of immigrant communities not only in the context of their connection with various components of their home country, including families, friends, TV programmes, news, radios, political and religious connection but also in terms of their socialisation with the members and different components of their community in the host countries. In this context, it is argued that new ICTs and social media platforms not only facilitate a smoother relocation to a new country through access to information and contacts but they also reduce the emotional hardships that come with the experience of immigration (McGregor and Siegel, 2013; Aroldi, Vittadini and Milesi, 2013). Compared to pre-digital/pre-internet immigrant ethnic minority communities, today's immigrant ethnic minority communities can benefit from a wide range of tools that enable them to maintain much easier, faster and more frequent communication and links with their family members in their home country and members of their communities in the host countries. Illustrating these benefits, a qualitative research (Dekker and Engbersen, 2012: 16), carried out with 90 Brazilian, Ukrainian and Moroccan migrants in the Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, found that social media is making the experiences and challenges of immigration more manageable through promoting immigrants' ties with their family members thanks to cheaper, more frequent and media-rich communication (thereby reducing the emotional impact of immigration), through strengthening immigrants' links to key information in the host country and, finally, through providing access to the real experiences of other immigrants.

Similarly, a qualitative study undertaken with Spanish-speaking young adults who had recently immigrated to London found that ICTs, particularly mobile phones facilitated a

more manageable arrival experience as it helped them to access key information and contacts (e.g., jobs, accommodation, language translation and public transport options) before and after their arrival in the UK (Gordano Peile and Ros Hajar, 2016: 419). The study also found that through allowing regular and easy contact with their loved ones, the experience of separation and making a new beginning was more manageable. At the same time, the study found that young adults' connectivity was limited by economic constraints, in particular those who had newly arrived and were without a regular income.

Alongside the impact of mobile phones and the internet on immigration, the role of mobile phones has also been explored in the context of transnational mothering, in other words, in the context of mothers who work in foreign countries and try to maintain parental presence in their children's lives from a distance (Wang and Lim, 2017; Chib et al., 2014; Bonini, 2011; Wilding, 2006; Parrenas, 2005; Parrenas, 2001). Research highlights that with the use of mobile phones and the internet, transnational families construct a "virtual intimacy" via internet-connected mobile telephony, allowing transnational mothers to overcome the physical absence from their homes and their children (Wilding, 2006: 132). Other research similarly highlights how through regular distant contact via mobile phones and other forms of communication, transnational mothers try to overcome the physical distance and emotional strains of transnational mothering (Parrenas, 2001: 374).

Another study on Filipino transnational families, which was undertaken before the widespread of smartphones, video calls and affordable broadband internet connection, highlights that there was frequent communication between migrant mothers and their children, with most migrant mothers calling their children at least once a week and urging them to call or email them if they ever needed emotional support and guidance (Parrenas, 2005). Rhacel Parrenas highlights that by 'being there', "mothers attempt to achieve a semblance of intimate family life across borders" (pp. 333). In a further study regarding transnational mothering, Chib and her colleagues (2014: 78) found that transnational mothers used text messages, mobile calls, and exchange of networking sites such as Facebook for their communication with their children and family members. During their research, texting was found to be one of the main means of communication, with many parents sharing more than 10 texts with their children daily. Through this ongoing emotional connection and distant exercises of parenting, it is argued that transnational

mothers strive to maintain their parenting role despite not sharing the same space and time with their children (Perterra, 2005: 42; Uy-Tioco, 2007: 260; Escobar, 2010: 37-40). Another study carried out on Chinese study mothers - mothers who moved to Singapore for their children's education - highlights the significance of mobile technologies, in particular mobile phones, thanks to their use in facilitating study mothers' link with the family left-behind and local ethnic communities and thereby, maintaining the old and nurturing new social and emotional connections and intimacies (Wang and Lim, 2017: 176). In an in-depth study of a Filipino family in Italy, Bonini (2011: 881) elaborates on how mobile phones are used as a "home-making tool". He argues that through the various connections that the mobile phones afford, migrants feel at home, which helps them manage the strains that come with spatial and temporary barriers.

On the other hand, in examining the results of a large qualitative study of transnational families conducted in Australia, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Iran, Singapore and New Zealand, Raelene Wilding (2006: 138) stresses that although ICTs and mobile phones have allowed more frequent contact, they don't fully remove the implications of spatial and temporal barriers especially in times of crisis. Also, the study found that although regular contact enhances the feelings of connection, in some cases the regular contact increased the felt sense of distance rather than diminishing it.

All of the above research is important in highlighting the various functions of mobile phones in different contexts such as immigration, ethnic communities, and transnational mothering and study mothers. Whilst mobile phones and the internet are found to be facilitating an easier experience of settling into a new country, they are also found to serve a significant purpose in facilitating migrants' communication with various identity components back home. In the case of transnational mothers, they are found to be significant in maintaining a close bond between parents and children. This indicates that the context in which ICTs are used can have different meanings and attributions for individuals concerned.

The Turkish-speaking Community in the UK

This section reviews the literature on the history of the Turkish-speaking community in the UK, its current composition, geographical concentration and socio-economic circumstances. Further, it reviews the sparse literature on parent-child relationship within this community to provide an understanding of this community as much as possible.

The term Turkish-speaking community, as opposed to Turkish-community, is chosen in this study. This is because the three major ethnic communities, namely Turkish Cypriots, Kurds and Turks of mainland Turkey, who form the Turkish-speaking community, speak and understand Turkish despite Turkish not being the mother tongue and ethnicity for many of them (Hopkins and Fiaz, 2009; Sirkeci, 2017; Tanyas, 2016). For example, within the Turkish-speaking community, English can be the main language for individuals from second and third generations whilst Kurdish and Zazaki can be the mother tongue for many and spoken by them (Sirkeci, 2017). Although the three different communities comprising the Turkish-speaking community share a lot in common with historical, cultural and geographical connections to mainland Turkey, it is reported that there are also cultural, religious and political differences between each group (Hopkins and Fiaz, 2009; Tanyas; 2016; Sirkeci, 2017).

History of the Turkish-speaking Community in the UK

The initial formation of the Turkish-speaking community in the UK dates back to the late 1940s when the Turkish Cypriots started to arrive in large numbers between 1945 and 1955 as a result of the ongoing conflict between the communities on the island and the high rates of unemployment after World War II (Ansari, 2004, cited in Hopkins and Fiaz, 2009; Sirkeci, 2017). It is discussed that the colonial connection to the UK and active recruitment of labor by the then British Government were significant in leading the Turkish Cypriots to settle in the UK more than any other European country. After the division of Cyprus in 1974, there was further migration of Turkish Cypriots to the UK in the 1970s and 1980s. As for the Kurds and Turks of the mainland, their migration dates back to the late 1960s and early 1970s (Simsek, 2012; Sirkeci, 2017). During this period, those who migrated came to the UK to work in the textile industry and were later joined by their families. Ibrahim Sirkeci (2017) reports that the subsequent significant migration

from mainland Turkey occurred in the aftermath of key political events. Dogus Simsek (2017: 73) discusses that the military coup in 1971 triggered the first flow of political migration from Turkey to the United Kingdom. Simsek (2017: 4) reports that there was subsequent migration of a large number of Alevi¹³ people from the city of Kahramanmaraş to the United Kingdom following the violent and deadly Maras events¹⁴ in 1978. Soon after these events, in 1980 there was another military coup and as a result, there was a further large migration flow from Turkey to the UK (Sirkeci, 2017). Simsek (2012: 76) and Sirkeci (2017) report that the next wave of large-scale migration from Turkey to the UK was the migration of the Kurds, mainly from eastern and south-eastern Turkey as a result of the armed conflict in those regions¹⁵. Sirkeci (2017) reports that following the afore-mentioned migration flows from Turkey, there was another episode of irregular migration flow from the late 1980s onwards while since the 2000s, migration from Turkey to the UK has been mixed in terms of composition and mechanisms.

With respect to the reasons of the Turkish-speaking community's migration to the UK, in a research carried out in 2007, economic and educational reasons were found to account for 45% of migration while family and personal reasons were found to account for 23% and political reasons for 32% (Edemir and Vasta, 2007: 11). Simsek discusses (2012: 73) that the initial migration that took place from Turkey was mostly economically motivated and those migrants were mainly employed in the textile industry (Hopkins and Fiaz, 2009: 33). Alongside this, the political events in Turkey such as the military coups in 1971 and 1980, the aforementioned Maras events and the migration from the east and south-eastern of Turkey have led to further waves of immigration from Turkey to the UK (Simsek, 2012: 73-76).

In terms of the pattern and the process that led to the emergence and formation of the Turkish-speaking community in the UK, Talip Kucukcan highlights (1999: 102) that “almost all of the early generation came to London as single men either unmarried or leaving their children behind” and with the eventual intention of return. However, once their families joined them, the idea of return was replaced by the idea of settlement due

¹³ Alevis are described as “a religious community on the periphery of Shia Islam” (Procházka-Eisl, 2016). For more information, please see Procházka-Eisl, 2016.

¹⁴ See Bandoğlu, 2016; Hamrin-Dahl, 2006

¹⁵ For more info, see Sirkeci, 2017 and Simsek, 2012: 75-78.

to the families gradually establishing their lives in the UK. This appears to be the experience of the families that Kucukcan interviewed as part of his doctoral study (p. 103). Simsek (2012: 79) discusses that the idea of return, which has always remained alive for some of the first generations of Cypriot Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish migrants, is something that families struggle to realize once they and their children establish their lives in the UK. This is discussed to have led to “the myth of return” being replaced by “regular visits to homeland” and “a desire to be buried in the homeland” (Cakmak, 2021: 2).

Considering the early emergence of the Turkish-speaking community in the UK as highlighted by Kucukcan, the immigration to a new country was unfortunately not the end to the challenges that the first generation immigrants and their families experienced. On the contrary, in many ways, it was the beginning of multiple hardships and deprivations for them and the families left behind (Kucukcan, 1999: 103-105). For the children and mothers left behind, on top of the emotional strains of separation, it meant maintaining lives without the presence and immediate support of fathers/husbands. Similarly for the immigrants, mostly fathers, in addition to the emotional implications of separation, immigration to a new country involved the multiple challenges around adjusting to and surviving in a new environment with little to no language skills, economic uncertainties and with very little to no community support. In this context, the use of Trafalgar Square as a meeting point by the first generation Turkish-speaking immigrants is an example of the lack of resources and support that was available to them (Greater London Authority, 2009: 7). Looking at the situation now, the Turkish-speaking community is currently one of the self-sufficient communities in the UK with various resources that cater for different needs of the community, i.e. supermarkets, radio channels, community centres, restaurants, cafes, barbers, driving instructors, solicitors, dentists, GPs, schools, etc. (Enneli, Modood and Bradley, 2005; Hopkins and Fiaz, 2009).

The Current Composition and Geographical Concentration of the Turkish-speaking Community in the UK

Although the Turkish-speaking community in the UK is growing, it is relatively new and small compared to other ethnic communities in the UK. It is also much smaller than the Turkish-speaking communities in some other European countries such as Germany, Netherlands, Austria and Switzerland. Despite some unofficial estimates that the number

of the Turkish-speaking community in the UK is half a million, there is no evidence to support this (Sirkeci, 2017). According to the 1991 UK Census, the number of individuals born in Turkey was about 26,000 in England and Wales. In the 2001 Census, this number doubled to 52,893, the majority of whom were residents in London. Looking at the 2011 UK Census, it seems that the total number of residents born in Turkey almost doubled again, increasing to 93,916. The number of Northern Cyprus-born (Turkish Cypriots) was very low with 3,026 residents in England and 11 in Wales, of which 2,497 were located in London (Sirkeci, 2017). Considering this pattern, it is argued that the Turkish-speaking community's population should not be more than 250,000 (Sirkeci and Açık, 2015, cited in Sirkeci, 2017). It is discussed that the controversy regarding the Turkish-speaking community stems from a lack of official sources of statistics on the Turkish-speaking community in the UK as the Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish Cypriot components of this community tend to be categorized/subsumed under broad ethnic group categories such as "other white", as a result of which the true size of this community is unknown (Greater London Authority, 2009: 5; Tanyas, 2016: 161).

In terms of the geographical distribution of the Turkish-speaking community, almost all of Turkish-born immigrants (over 95%) reside in England with the majority of them living in London (64%). When it comes to the expansion of the Turkish-speaking community within London, 53% reside in the London boroughs of Hackney, Haringey, Enfield and Islington. Outer counties such as Essex, Hertfordshire and Sussex accommodate about a fourth of the Turkish-born immigrants while cities such as Manchester, Glasgow and Sheffield are estimated to host Turkish-speaking communities of smaller sizes, 500 or more (Sirkeci, 2017).

Although the proportion of the Turkish-speaking community in the UK is not significant compared to other ethnic minorities, this community comprises a significant proportion of London's minority ethnic population and is one of the most visible ethnic minority groups especially in the above-highlighted boroughs (Greater London Authority, 2009: 5). For example, in the London Borough of Hackney the Turkish-speaking community is estimated to be constituting 6% of Hackney's population (Hackney Council, 2013: 7). Similarly, in the London Borough of Enfield residents from Turkey make up the largest (13,968; 4.5%) ethnic minority (Enfield Council, 2012: 3).

The Socio-Economic Circumstances of the Turkish-speaking Community

As a growing community that has become self-sufficient in many areas, the Turkish-speaking community in London faces a number of challenges ranging from educational underachievement of children to high rates of unemployment, concentration in limited economic sectors, residential clustering and lack of English language skills especially among adult members (Enneli, Modood and Bradley, 2005; King et al., 2008; Tanyas, 2016). All of these challenges impact on this community's access to services, equal opportunities and their chances of participating in the wider society. A study that focused on migrants from Brazil, Poland and Turkey in the UK found that its Turkish sample (mainly asylum seekers) experienced more problems with unemployment, psychological distress and poverty (Jordan and Duvell, 2002: 136). Similarly, Pinar Enneli and her colleagues (2005: 48) argue that young Turkish Cypriots, Kurds and Turks are disadvantaged groups in London and they relate this disadvantage to ethnicity and class. Among these three groups, they note the young Kurds to be the most disadvantaged whilst the young Turkish Cypriots as the least disadvantaged. Furthermore, according to the Department of Work and Pensions, Turkish citizens have been amongst the ten foreign groups who have made the highest number of benefits claims (D'Angelo et al., 2013: 9). The 2001 Census also revealed that Kurdish and Turkish people were more likely to live in social housing properties rented from the council or a housing association than the London population as a whole, while Turkish Cypriots are more likely to be owner-occupiers (Greater London Authority, 2009).

Again, according to the 2001 Census, unemployment was more than twice as high for Turkish and Kurdish people than the London average (Greater London Authority, 2009). The lack of high-skilled qualifications amongst Turkish-speaking community is cited as one reason for the lack of employment or condensation of employment in the service sector. According to information from the 2001 Census, the education level of adults born in Turkey and Cyprus was found to be low. Additionally, lack of higher-level qualifications or not having any recognised qualifications are reported to be common amongst the Turkish-speaking immigrants (Greater London Authority, 2009: 5; Edemir and Vasta, 2007: 12). With respect to employment within the Turkish-speaking community, working in the wholesale, retail and catering sectors, including restaurants, takeaway foods, cafes, supermarkets, minicab offices, off-licences, jewellery, fashion and

import-export were found to be the most common employment and business activities (Greater London Authority, 2009: 5).

Despite all of the above challenges and the disadvantages, research highlights the self-sufficiency of the Turkish-speaking community when it comes to the availability of and access to various services such as local community-based newspapers, radios, restaurants, cafes, barbers, supermarkets, etc. (Enneli, Modood and Bradley, 2005: 2). There are a couple of London-based radio stations that particularly older generations and those with limited English regularly tune into. Satellite TV viewing is also widespread within the community with the Turkish (mainland Turkey) channels being regularly viewed for news updates and entertainment. Although there are also Turkish Cypriot channels which can be accessed in the UK and watched by members of the Turkish Cypriot community, it is noted that Turkish TV channels (broadcast from Turkey) are generally more popular due to quality and rich content (Hopkins and Fiaz, 2009: 48). Furthermore, several Turkish newspapers published in London are available free of charge in many Turkish shops and supermarkets (Simsek, 2012: 149-154).

As for the media consumption tendencies of the Turkish Cypriot, Kurdish and Turkish youth in London, Simsek found that they had mixed preferences (2012: 151-162). Whilst some of the young people preferred watching transnational media, most of them reported that they were co-viewers of transnational media due to their parents watching transnational media. In general, young people expressed preference for watching English television channels due to them being more relevant and connected to their day-to-day life experiences in the UK. Some others expressed that they switch between watching transnational television channels and English television channels thanks to their dual cultural connections. Some of the young people who had a preference either for transnational television channels or English channels were doing this for the common reason of connecting more with the respective cultures and keeping up-to-date about the developments in the host or the home country, indicating that unlike their parents, they were not exclusively focused on consuming the media from their country of origin. Furthermore, some of the young people had expressed that they prefer watching English television channels as they are helpful in improving their language skills and their integration with the culture of the host country. In addition to transnational media and English television channels, Simsek found that the young people valued the internet as a

tool that helps them to keep in touch with family members and friends, following the events in their home country and following the media in the host country online. Simsek explains that all these patterns are influenced by factors such as the level of connection/attachment with the home and host country, the level of social inclusion in the receiving society, and language skills.

Parent-Child Relationship in the Turkish-speaking Community in London

Cigdem Kagitcibasi argues that there are traditional collectivistic values of interdependence within immigrant families (2002: 5, 7). Explaining different families in the context of material and emotional (or psychological) interdependencies, Kagitcibasi argues that the family of independence model is typical in Western cultures whereby autonomy is highly valued and the dimensions of material and emotional independence are promoted (Kagitcibasi, 2002: 6). She highlights that in this type of family model, the focus is on children's independence, self-reliance, self-sufficiency and self-actualisation. With respect to the family model of (total) interdependence (2002: 5), she argues that this is typical in non-Western, collectivist and low-affluence cultures. She argues that there are strong material and emotional interdependencies in this family model and children's personal autonomy is not highly valued and childrearing is aimed at achieving child's obedience. Kagitcibasi has termed the family model of emotional (or psychological) interdependence as a third family model (2000: 6). In this model, there is a weakening of material interdependencies (and traditional hierarchies) as a result of cultural transformations stemming from the modernisation process while emotional interdependencies stay important. In this family model, childrearing is oriented towards promoting autonomy whilst maintaining emotional connection. Looking at the immigrant Turkish-speaking communities with the categorisation that Kagitcibasi offers, there tends to be a strong attachment to traditional family values. The first generation immigrants often persevere to protect the link with their home culture and values through limited contact with the host community, preference for marriage partners from the same culture and maintenance of the Turkish language between generations (Crul and Doornik, 2003: 1058). As such, it could be argued that the families from the immigrant Turkish-speaking community demonstrate characteristics that relate to both the family model of (total) interdependence and to some extent the family model of emotional interdependence especially when it comes to second and third generations. Supporting

this to some extent, in their study Melek Daglar and her colleagues (2011: 275-276) found that the Turkish immigrant parents in the UK were less permissive and more authoritarian compared to migrant or non-migrant Turkish parents in Turkey.

Given the immigration pattern of the Turkish-speaking communities to more liberal cultures, families are faced with a number of challenges. In particular, conflict with the culture and norms of the host country can lead to tensions and difficulties within families as well as parenting problems. These issues can impact on family functioning and children's well-being (Kia-Keating, 2006, cited in Daglar, Melhuish and Barnes, 2011: 262). In particular, research highlights the emotional and behavioural issues that migrant children experience compared to their non-migrant peers (Diler, Avci, and Seydaoglu, 2003: 16). Reinforcing this concern, a study carried out with London secondary school children whereby the largest group of pupils was from Turkey found that migrant children were experiencing more emotional difficulties and peer problems (Leavey et al., 2004: 194). Another study, carried out in the Netherlands, found similar findings in that compared to their Dutch peers and native Turkish peers, Turkish immigrant teenagers reported more emotional and behavioural problems (Janssen et al. 2004: 133). In their study, Daglar and her colleagues found (2011: 275-276) that children in immigrant Turkish families in the UK tended to have more externalizing problems¹⁶, internalizing problems¹⁷, emotional dysregulation¹⁸ and less social competence" compared to Turkish children from migrant and non-migrant families in Turkey.

Going back to the issue of conflict with the norms and culture of the country of arrival, it can be argued that conflict can be further likely within the Turkish-speaking community given the findings that Turkish-speaking immigrant parents have a more authoritarian style of parenting (Daglar, Melhuish and Barnes, 2011: 274). It is discussed that the authoritarian parenting style may be further encouraged by the parental anxiety or fear over the impact of the new environment or culture on the children and the family as a

¹⁶ Externalizing problems are described as externally-directed behaviours such as aggression, conduct problems, anti-social behaviours, hyperactivity and attention problems (Willner, Gatzke-Kopp and Bray, 2016: 1033).

¹⁷ Internalizing problems are internally-directed problems such as anxiety, fear, and self-isolation, sadness/depression (Willner, Gatzke-Kopp and Bray, 2016: 1033).

¹⁸ Emotional dysregulation refers to difficulties in one's ability to respond to, regulate and manage their emotions (Carpenter and Trull, 2013: 335).

whole, which then leads to parents resorting to authoritarian parenting styles in an effort to protect their children. However, this style of parenting was found to be working against the intended aim of protection as it was found to be positively related to greater child behaviour issues and less social competence. Furthermore, authoritarian parenting was found to be directed towards the girls more than the boys (Daglar, Melhuish and Barnes, 2011: 175). Another study on the Turkish-speaking community in London (Kucukcan, 1996: 319) draws attention to the clash of cultures and the impact of this on families and children. Kucukcan highlights that youngsters of the Turkish-speaking community are inevitably/unavoidably exposed to contextual social and cultural trends that often conflict with parental values and norms. His research found that this conflict leads to tension between parents and youngsters who are socialising through and adopting British values. Kucukcan's research further revealed the presence of authoritarian parenting style within the Turkish-speaking community, with 33 % of the male and 73 % of the female respondents reporting that their parents exercise "too much control over them". However, at the same time when the respondents were asked whether they would like to live on their own, 52 % of the male and 63% of the female respondents reported that they would prefer to live with their family for reasons such as "love", "attachment towards parents", "being loved by their parents", "the need to be protected" and "lack of confidence" whereas 26 % of the male and 37 % of the female respondents said that they wanted to live on their own (Kucukcan, 1996: 161).

When it comes to women in Turkish-speaking community, it is highlighted that traditionally they have played a care-taking/nurturing role in the family as well as actively supporting family businesses. In addition, it is reported that many feel practically and emotionally unsupported by men in carrying out this nurturing role, in other words in looking after the children. For many Turkish-speaking women, lack of English skills is a problem, which impacts on a number of issues they are facing, including domestic violence, intergenerational problems and access to the labor market and public services. Nevertheless, this is reported to be improving slowly with more young women going into higher education and getting employed in jobs outside of the Turkish labor market (Hopkins and Fiaz, 2009: 8).

With respect to parent-child relationship, research highlights that parents within the Turkish-speaking community are finding it increasingly difficult to spend time with their

children and support them with their homework and other school-related issues, which has implications for children's attainment and well-being (D'angelo et al., 2013: 43). This is concerning especially given that the research on youngsters from the Turkish-speaking community indicates that the family support is significant for youngsters' transition from adolescence to adulthood (Enneli, Modood and Bradley, 2005). Although the attainment rates of Turkish and Kurdish pupils are reported to be improving, their attainment levels have been a cause of concern (Hopkins and Fiaz, 2009: 5, 19). Research further highlights that the youngsters from this community face problems such as truancy, exclusion and lack of employment outside of the Turkish-speaking labor market (Hopkins and Fiaz, 2009: 43). The strains on parents such as financial worries, long working hours, uncertainty about immigration status and being moved around frequently in temporary accommodation were found to be amongst the main reasons that impact on the underperformance of Turkish-speaking children (Hopkins and Fiaz, 2009: 22). Research also highlights that many young people within the Turkish-speaking community in London, particularly boys, lack role models and emotional support from their fathers, especially if they work very long hours. In some instances, mothers may also work to support family businesses which further reduces the level of parental presence in children's lives. The pressures and related stresses that families face can lead to tension and domestic violence which can have multiple negative implications for the children. It is stressed that violence within the home and the lack of parental presence/support can result in young males seeking recognition/support from their peers, often in gangs. It is also discussed that parents experience worries around "losing their children" to crime or drugs due to their children's low attainment and their difficulties in managing their cultural identities (Hopkins and Fiaz, 2009: 42).

Simsek (2012: 86-93), who explored the relationship between Cypriot Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish young people in London and their parents, discusses that parents who don't have the English language skills are not able to support their children with their range of problems and needs including the issues they may face at school. Her study found that different levels of socialisation and integration of the first and second-generations, parents' lack of English skills, discrepancies in the levels of emotional attachment to the identity and values of the country of origin can be factors that can lead to disagreements, conflict and clashes between young people and their parents. In contextualising this, Simsek discusses how first-generation parents still largely maintain the traditions and

values of their homeland and how the young people differ from their parents in this respect as a result of their increased integration and connection with the culture of the host country through education, interactions and access to the media of the receiving country. In the interviews Simsek undertook with young people, some of them shared that all the above factors can be causes of relationship difficulties in their relationship with their parents. At the same time, Simsek highlights that second-generation migrants have better English skills than their parents and usually, they are the ones who support their parents in their various communications with the outer world, including reading letters and paying the bills. This is discussed to be resulting in young people having power over their parents, which can lead to young people challenging their parents' authority. Compounded by the communication difficulties that can stem from the aforementioned factors, this is discussed to be leading to further relational difficulties between parents and their children.

Summary

This chapter reviewed the literature on parent-child relationship which indicated how appropriate parent-child relationship is significant for children's healthy development while also emphasizing the significance of appropriate parenting and parental modelling behaviour. It then reviewed the literature on domestic media and everyday life, highlighting how the inventions in information and communication technologies are transforming our experiences in and outside of the home. Next, it considered the literature on pre-internet media and its implications on children and families, revealing that similar to current debates, there were similar debates about the implications of pre-internet media for children and families. This was followed by a review of literature on the implications of the internet for children and families and the impact of smartphones on parent-child relationship, illustrating the research/debates both on the positive and negative implications of the internet for children and families while engaging with the literature on the implications of smartphones for parent-child relationship. Subsequently, it presented the research findings/debates on digital inequality and its implications for disadvantaged children. Later, it illustrated the literature on the positive role of mobile phones in distant family communication and experiences of immigration. Finally, it reviewed the literature on the Turkish-speaking community in London, presenting information on its emergence and formation, current composition and geographical

expansion, socio-economic conditions and the parent-child relationship within this community. Reviewing all these different strands of literature was necessary and important for contextualising this study and developing an analytical framework to guide the interpretation of the study data.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods used in exploring the research questions set out in Chapter I and outlines the methodology used in undertaking the research. The chapter first introduces the research participants and the context of the study. In doing so, dimensions such as age range, socio-demographic information about children and parents, my observations from undertaking the interviews and the reason for focusing on the Turkish-speaking community in London are elaborated on. The chapter then discusses the process and methods I followed in collecting the study data, setting out information on the type of interviews conducted with the children and parents, recruitment process and how the interviews were conducted with the children and parents. Finally, it sets out the method I used in analysing and reflecting the content of the interviews.

Research Population and the Context of the Study

The narratives of this study are based on 14 families from the Turkish-speaking community in London.

In order to gain a better understanding of the interviewees, their socio-demographics were explored at the beginning of the interviews. For children this meant their age, place of birth and their education level whilst for parents this meant their age, place of birth, their education level, their marital status, how long they had been living in the UK and their job status, all of which are set out in the following subsections.

Characteristics of Research Participants

Age Range

I chose families with children aged 8–18 years of age. I chose this age range as children aged 8 and over have a more developed ability to reflect on their experiences and verbalise them.

Children

I interviewed nineteen children from various ages as part of my research. 9 of these children were male and 10 were female. The oldest interviewed child was 16 years old whilst the youngest 2 interviewed children were 9 years of age. In most families, interviews were carried out only with 1 child, however in 5 families 2 siblings were interviewed. All the children had their place of birth as London, in fact North London, apart from 2 young people one of whom was born in Scotland and the other one was born in Turkey and had moved to London when he was 5 years old. In terms of their education level, 14 children were secondary school age, 4 were primary school age and 1 young person was in College.

Apart from 1 child who lived with her mother and adult brother, all of the other interviewed children lived with their mother, father and siblings in North London in the boroughs of Hackney and Enfield (Edmonton) which are the two boroughs that have the highest Turkish-speaking population alongside Haringey. All the children had at least one sibling. Additionally, all of the interviewed children had at least one other family member - in most cases multiple family members such as uncles, aunts and cousins - living in the UK whilst also having close family members such as grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins living in Turkey. Furthermore, all of the interviewed children were born to first-generation parents who were all born in Turkey.

Parents

Apart from 1 family, all of the interviewed families were two-parent families whereby parents were married. In total, I met with 12 mothers and 3 fathers. Only in 1 family, I was able to meet with both parents. The majority of the interviewed parents were either in their late 30s or early 40s, with the oldest interviewed parent being 53 years of age whilst the youngest interviewed parent was 33 years of age.

All of the interviewed parents were born in Turkey and the majority of them had lived in Turkey for many years before coming over to the UK. The parent that had been living in

the UK for the longest was a mother who had been in the UK for 27 years whilst the parent who had been living in the UK for the shortest time was again a mother who had been living in the UK for 12 years after joining her husband who had been working in the UK for several years. All of the interviewed families were British citizens.

In terms of their education levels, 8 parents had finished primary school, 3 were university graduates whilst 3 parents had finished high school and 1 parent secondary school. Only 3 parents had attended statutory schooling in the UK as a child and 2 of these parents were the parents with the university degrees. Almost all mothers were full-time mothers apart from 1 mother working as a child minder and another mother working in catering business, indicating that the traditional gender roles are being largely maintained. Of the 3 interviewed fathers 1 was self-employed working in the construction business, 1 was working in the catering business (kebab shop) whilst the other father was working in the furniture business. For further introductory information on 14 families, please see Table 1.

Table 1: Socio-demographic Information and Parent-child Relationship in the Context of Smartphone Use

	Socio-demographic Information	Smartphone Use & Parent-child Relationship
Family 1 (Interviews with father and son aged 15)	Married couple with 4 children. All children born in the UK. Both parents were born in Turkey. Father arrived in the UK in 2002 and then mother joined him after marriage. Both parents have primary school as their education level. Father is self-employed working in the construction sector.	Father reported high use of smartphone use by his children whilst reporting low-self use. Young person reported high use of individual smartphone use and parental smartphone use. Young person's smartphone was recently removed due to excessive use. Relationship difficulties reported both by the father and son as a result of high level of smartphone use.
Family 2 (Interviews with both parents and their daughter aged 13)	Married couple with 3 children. All children born in the UK. Mother arrived in the UK in 2003, father says he has been in the UK for 16 years. Both parents were born in Turkey and got married in the UK. Father's education level is high school; mother's education level is primary school. Father works in the furniture business whilst mother is a full-time mother.	Father reported high use of individual smartphone use and "smartphone-addiction problems". Young person reported a lot of waste of time as a result of her smartphone use whilst also reporting high paternal smartphone use but low maternal smartphone use.

<p>Family 3 (Interviews with father and daughters aged 9 and 11)</p>	<p>Married couple with 4 children, 3 of whom were born in the UK and the eldest in Turkey. Both parents were born and got married in Turkey before arriving in the UK. Father arrives first in the UK, then mother joins him. Father has been in the UK for the past 20 years. Both parents have primary school as their education level. Father doesn't work currently but normally works in the catering sector and mother is a full-time mother.</p>	<p>Father reported low smartphone use which is echoed by the children. Children don't have smartphones but go on their parents' ones, however this is restricted. Children reported that at times smartphones interfere with their communication with their parents. They also reported excitement at using the smartphones whilst the 11 year old reported that she can use a lot of her time on the smartphone which she perceived as time-consuming.</p>
<p>Family 4 (Interviews with mother, daughter aged 13 and son aged 14)</p>	<p>Married couple with 3 children. All children born in the UK. Both parents were born in Turkey. Mother arrives in the UK at the age of 14 and gets married in the UK. Mother is a university graduate and has been living in the UK for the past 27 years. Mother is a full-time mother whilst also working as a child minder.</p>	<p>Mother reported "smartphone addiction habits", expressing that she would like to get rid of her smartphone. Mother described her daughter's use as balanced whilst she had removed her son's smartphone use due to his high level of use. Daughter reported that her father is always on his smartphone and due to him being on his smartphone and at work, she reported lack of paternal availability whilst also reporting that her mother's smartphone use interferes with their communication. Son reported that his parents don't use their smartphones as much as they do whilst reporting that his use used to interfere with his communication and quality of time with his parents.</p>
<p>Family 5 (Interviews with mother and son aged 10 and daughter aged 15)</p>	<p>Married couple with 4 children, all of whom were born in the UK. Both parents were born in Turkey and they got married in the UK. Mother finishes secondary school in the UK and has been living in the UK since 1996 and is a full-time mother.</p>	<p>Both children reported high maternal and paternal smartphone use. Mother reported "smartphone addiction problems" with her son's use whilst reporting that she is more able to control her daughter's use. Paternal smartphone addiction problems reported both by children and parents. Relationship difficulties/tension reported both by the children and mother as a result of smartphone use. Both children and their mother reported that smartphone and other technology use impacts negatively on family routines, family time and parental availability/presence.</p>
<p>Family 6 (Interviews with mother and son aged 10).</p>	<p>Married couple with 3 children. All children born in the UK whilst parents were born in Turkey. Mother finishes university in Turkey and has been living in the UK since 2001. She is a full-time mother whilst also assisting her husband in their clothing shop.</p>	<p>Mother reported "smartphone addiction problems" with regards to her own smartphone use and strong discomfort about this. She reported significant "addiction problems" with her 17 year old daughter's smartphone use who refused to take part in the interview. Her son recently got a smartphone so she reported that she is yet to see how his use will look like. Mother reported significant relationship difficulties as a result of her daughter's smartphone use. Mother reported that in their case, parent-child and family time, parent-child</p>

		communication, parent-child relationship and parental availability and presence are negatively affected by individual members' smartphone use.
Family 7 (Interviews with mother and son aged 16)	Married couple with 3 children. All children and both parents born in Turkey. Mother has been living in the UK since 2008 and is a full-time mother with primary school education.	Mother reported that she uses her smartphone just for calling, accessing information and listening to religious speeches whilst reporting that before the smartphone they were sitting more together and with the smartphones everyone is on the internet by themselves. Son reported dissatisfaction about his past use which he says was more for entertainment whilst reporting more purposeful use currently which he says is for revising and homework. Son reported low paternal and maternal use and no relationship difficulties as a result of his or his parents' smartphone use.
Family 8 (Interviews with mother and daughter aged 10)	Married couple with 3 children. Mother was born in Turkey and has been living in the UK since 1996. Mother is a primary school graduate and full-time mother. All children born in the UK.	Mother reported "addiction problems" with her 15 years old son's smartphone use which she reports is a source of arguments and relationship difficulties. Negative impact on parent-child and family time, parent-child communication and parent-child relationship was reported by mother as a result of her son's "smartphone addiction" problems. The 10 years old daughter didn't have a smartphone but reported using her parents' one but this is not a lot. Concerns more around her 15 years old son's use.
Family 9 (Interview with mother and her son aged 11)	Married couple with 2 children. Children born in the UK whilst both parents were born in Turkey. Father arrives in the UK first and mother joins him after getting married. Mother has been living in the UK for the past 14 years. Mother is a high school graduate and full-time mother.	Mother reported low smartphone use by her son but "addiction problems" with his computer use and related behaviour issues, i.e. shouting, becoming aggressive when asked to come off the computer. Mother talked about how his son's computer use impacts on their ability to do indoor and outdoor activities together. Mother reported that her smartphone use could take a lot of her free time but didn't report "addiction problems" whilst reporting partial discontent about her social media use. Son reported low individual smartphone use, medium maternal use and low paternal use. Son didn't report relationship difficulties as a result of his or his parents' smartphone use.

<p>Family 10 (Interviews with mother and daughter aged 12 and son aged 9)</p>	<p>Married couple with 2 children. Children born in the UK whilst both parents were born in Turkey. Mother arrives in the UK at the age of 7 and gets married in the UK to her husband who is also from Turkey. Mother is a university graduate and is currently a full-time mother with past experience of working as a history teacher.</p>	<p>Daughter stopped using her smartphone after she and her mother came to the agreement that she would stop using it due to her excessive use. Daughter reported that her mother doesn't use it that much but her father uses it a lot. Son reported 3-4 hour use per day whilst echoing her sister's views regarding his father's use. Mother reported low individual use whilst describing her husband's smartphone use as "addictive". No significant relationship issues reported as a result of smartphone use, however negative impact on parent-child and family time noted by the mother.</p>
<p>Family 11 (Interviews with mother and son aged 12)</p>	<p>Married couple with 3 children. Children born in the UK whilst both parents born in Turkey. Full-time mother with primary school education and she has been living in the UK for the past 16 years.</p>	<p>Low smartphone use reported both by the child and mother, however, excessive computer use reported by the child.</p>
<p>Family 12 (Interviews with mother and daughter aged 13)</p>	<p>Single mother with two children. Children born in the UK whilst mother was born in Turkey. Mother is a primary school graduate and she works in the catering sector. Mother reported that she has been living in the UK for about 20 years.</p>	<p>Mother reported low individual smartphone use whilst reporting issues with her daughter's smartphone use which she reported is a source of arguments. Daughter reported high level of individual smartphone use whilst reporting that she would like to reduce it.</p>
<p>Family 13 (Interviews with mother and daughter aged 11)</p>	<p>Married couple with 3 children. Children born in the UK whilst both parents were born in Turkey. Mother arrives first and father joins mother after marriage. Mother is a primary school graduate and full-time mother. Mother has been living in the UK since 1989.</p>	<p>Mother reported no addiction problems whilst reporting a lot of use by her daughter. Daughter reported low maternal and paternal smartphone use whilst reporting discontent with her own use, expressing that she wants to reduce the time she spends on her smartphone.</p>
<p>Family 14 (Interview with mother, son aged 15 and daughter aged 12)</p>	<p>Married couple with 4 children. Children born in the UK whilst both parents were born in Turkey. Mother is a primary graduate and full-time mother. Mother reported she has been living in the UK for the past 20 years.</p>	<p>Mother reported high individual smartphone use and addiction problems. She also reported high smartphone use by her son and daughter, in particular her daughter. Daughter reported high individual smartphone use and low maternal and paternal use. Son reported high individual, paternal and maternal smartphone use. Relationship difficulties reported both by the daughter and mother as a result of high levels of smartphone use. Daughter's smartphone was removed from her several times due to parental concerns about her high level of use.</p>

My Observations

I carried out my study in research participants' real life environment, in other words, either in their own homes or the house of a close relative, which allowed me the

opportunity to observe the families in their real-life environment. In this context, it was significant in terms of getting a sense of how some cultural, traditional and religious values were maintained in the host country.

One common experience I had was that either before, during or after the interviews, tea, appetisers or food would be served. In a couple of cases, families insisted that we have dinner or lunch before or after the interviews. On these occasions we ended up having lunch or dinner together due to families' strong adamantness despite profusely thanking them for their hospitality and trying to avoid this. On some occasions, the intensity of the hospitality meant that the interview had to be interrupted. For example, with one of the families in the middle of the interview, the mother knocked on the door telling the interviewee (the father in this case) that the tea was ready whilst the interview was ongoing and she insisted that we have the tea fresh despite being reminded by her husband that the interview was taking place. In other cases, especially in terms of the interviews with children, parents served tea or appetisers whilst the interview was going on, which again led to pleasant interruptions.

Furthermore, certain experiences were indicative of families' cultural and religious sensitivities. For example, some families didn't mind males and females sitting together ahead of the interviews or after the interviews. On these occasions, as part of the initial welcome and introduction, we all sat together before progressing to the interviews. With about a third of the families, there was the preference for males to sit separately. In terms of the interviews that were undertaken with mothers in the absence of their husbands, initial contacts with them were made by my wife and in agreeing to the interviews, they urged that my wife accompanied me to their homes as their husbands wouldn't welcome it if I was to attend on my own as a male researcher. As such, on these occasions, my wife and our two little girls accompanied me in order for me to be able to undertake the interviews. However, after arriving at the family home I was able to have one-to-one interviews with these mothers. In a couple of cases whereby the children were young, my wife looked after the research participants' children until the interview was over.

Furthermore, out of 14 mothers, 10 were wearing the hijab whilst 4 were not. Wearing the hijab is common amongst Muslim women in Turkey, but on some occasions, the wearing of hijab could well be related to a mixture of cultural, religious and traditional

factors. In other words, although the wearing of hijab can be an indicator of one being a practising and well-informed believer of the Islamic faith, this is not always necessarily the case. For example, although one may not be a fully practising Muslim, they may still wear conservative clothing. Partly this may have a religious reason but it could also be socially and culturally underpinned.

Another observation was that without any exception, with all families shoes were left at the door, which is a distinct characteristic shared by almost all families in Turkey. Therefore, when visiting, we also followed suit by taking our shoes off and placing them in the shoe racks. To further elaborate on this, entering a family home with shoes is considered a sign of disrespect and ignorance in the Turkish and Kurdish culture. Although there are now some examples of affluent modern families entering their homes with shoes in Turkey, overall taking the shoes off at the door is largely observed in Turkey. This continues to be mainly due to hygiene reasons as shoes are considered to be touching all sorts of surfaces and thus, carrying all sorts of germs and filth.

Turkish-speaking Community in London

The target population of this study were the families from the Turkish-speaking community in London. I chose this particular community firstly because it is one of the under-researched communities, which has been described as a “disadvantaged” and an “invisible ethnic group” (Enneli, Modood and Bradley, 2005; D’Angelo et al., 2013; Thomson, 2006). Lack of research on the Turkish-speaking community in the UK is discussed as one of the reasons for this community’s invisibility (see Cetin, 2016; D’Angelo et al., 2013; Demir, 2012; Simsek, 2012; Thomson, 2006; Enneli, Modood and Bradley, 2005). Thomson (2006: 18) highlights that the Turkish-speaking community is a population that has been poorly and sporadically researched, setting out the relatively small size of the Turkish-speaking community as one of the factors that has contributed to this. Thomson stresses that the self-sufficiency of the Turkish-speaking community could have also contributed to this “invisibility” as the community can meet its various needs with its own resources. He further highlights that the strong family relationships and social networks may disguise the social problems that the community is facing whilst highlighting the disproportionate engagement of the community in low-paid employment and lack of educational qualifications amongst the Turkish-speaking youngsters.

Enneli and her colleagues (2005) highlight that because of ethnic classifications and different priorities in the policy discourse, the Turkish-speaking community is largely regarded as “disadvantaged” but at the same time as an “invisible group”. Another important reason for the afore-mentioned invisibility is that there is no “Turkish” and “Kurdish” category among the standard ethnic categories used in most official statistics (D’angelo et al., 2013: 7).

Additionally, the Turkish-speaking community is reported to be affected by high unemployment rates, poor housing, limited English skills and children’s poor levels of school achievement, with parents increasingly struggling to spend time with their children and support them with their school work and other school-related issues (D’Angelo et al., 2013: 6). All of this encouraged me to focus on this community as I wanted to get a sense of how the use and integration of smartphones impacted on the parent-child and family relationships in this particular community, which is highlighted to be struggling with the range of issues outlined above. Furthermore, reading into the research subject, I was intrigued by the findings of the research carried out by the EU Kids online project as it highlighted that amongst all European Countries, Turkish families stood out in terms “mediation strategies”¹⁹ when it came to their children’s access to the internet as Turkish families were found to be adapting the most restrictive mediation strategies whilst ranking very low in relation to active mediation strategies (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2013: 119). Further research I encountered highlighted similarities between diasporic Turkish families and mainland Turkish families in this respect (d’Haeenens and Ogan, 2013). This also felt interesting, especially in the context that Turkish families differ from the majority of families in all other European countries in terms of religion, culture and traditional values. As such, I felt further exploration of how children and parents were managing the use and integration of internet and communication technologies - in this instance, smartphones - in this particular community and how this was subsequently impacting on parent-child and family relationships in general would be a further step in understanding how children and parents are managing the use and integration of

¹⁹ Mediation strategies can be explained as strategies that parents use “to control, supervise, or interpret (media) content” (Warren, 2001: 212). See also Chapter 2 of this thesis as it elaborates on this subject.

smartphones into their lives and how this is impacting on parent-child and family relationships within a diasporic context. Moreover, although the research on transnational mothering reveals how smartphones are seen and valued as tools for facilitating distant parental presence and availability in their children's lives and serving as a great tool for virtually connecting parents and children (Parrenas, 2001; Parrenas, 2005; Wilding, 2006; Bonini, 2011; Chib et al., 2014: 78; Wang and Lim, 2017), during my literature review, I came across no research that focused on the impact of smartphones on parent-child and family relationships within an established diasporic community whereby parents and children live together. Although I am mindful that “distance” is a major factor in how mobile phones are perceived in the context of transnational mothering, I was interested in finding out about the impact of the use and integration of smartphones on parent-child and family relationships within the context of a settled diasporic community whereby parents and children live together. I was curious to explore this both when “distance” was taken out of the equation (in terms of immediate parent-child and family relationships) and when taken into account in terms of children’s contact with their family members in their home country. One can understandably still argue why out of all ethnic communities, the Turkish-speaking community in London was chosen and I would agree that any ethnic community could have been chosen, however, being a researcher from the Turkish-speaking community presented a number of advantages. Firstly, being from this community and speaking the languages of Kurdish, Turkish and English did not only present the advantage of accessing the community more easily but also allowed me to undertake the interviews in participants’ preferred languages. Secondly, it allowed me to translate the interview audios/texts into English first-hand. Furthermore, as someone from the same community living in the UK for 14 years, my experiences, knowledge and understanding of this community allowed me to consider cultural and social values in the pre-interview stage, interview stage and post-interview stage of interpreting and analysing data.

Data Collection

During the literature phase of this study, the research I encountered, that was relevant to the aim of this study, was largely non-qualitative research (see Kushlev and Dunn, 2019, McDaniel and Radesky, 2018; Moser, Schoenebeck and Reinecke, 2016; McDaniel and Coyne, 2016; Ante-Contreras, 2016; Radesky et al., 2014; McDaniel and Coyne, 2014a,

McDaniel and Coyne, 2014b; McDaniel, 2015; Mesch, 2006; Lee and Chae, 2007), indicating a lack of qualitative research in this area (see Lanette, 2018; Blackwell, Gardiner and Schoenebeck, 2016; Hiniker et al., 2015). Therefore, to explore and develop an understanding of children and parents' views and feelings in relation to their smartphone use and the impact of this on their relationship, I used qualitative interviews as I thought this would better meet the purpose of my research for the following reasons. First of all, qualitative interviews allowed me to ascertain children's and parents' in depth-experiences and feelings which cannot be ascertainable by a questionnaire. Secondly, this method allowed children and parents to illustrate their experiences and perceptions in their own everyday language whilst allowing them to shed light on how their experiences impacted on their relationship again in their own language. This subsequently allowed me to directly illustrate the experiences and perceptions of children and parents in detail with their own words (Sandelowski, 2000: 338-339). And finally, it allowed the children and parents to elaborate on their experiences and perceptions within the context of how they felt their relationship with one another was impacted by the integration and use of smartphones.

Ethics and Governance Approval

The full project plan and the research instruments alongside the relevant documents such as the information sheets and consent forms (see Appendix I, II, III, IV, V and VI) were submitted for the ethics approval which was granted on 07 June 2019 following minor changes to the Information Sheet for younger children. Further to the ethics approval, a pilot interview was carried out and as discussed in greater detail in the "pilot interview and evaluation of pilot interview" section, further changes were made to the data collection method in line with the ethical considerations and feedback/observations from the pilot interview.

Before each interview, alongside copies of the information sheet and consent forms, parents and children were provided with a verbal summary of the purpose and the scope of the research and how the gathered information will be used. Additionally, all interviewees were explained why the interviews were audio-recorded and their consent for this was also obtained. I paid extra attention to children's consent, emphasizing to each and every child that although their parents have consented for them to take part in

the research, their own consent was equally required and important in order to ensure that the children have a full voice about whether they wanted to take part in the research.

Furthermore, in order to avoid any conflict between parents and children - especially in cases whereby concerns were mutually expressed about smartphone use and the impact of this on the parent-child and family relationships - parents' and children's interview information was kept confidential despite at times parents sought information about what their children had shared. The appropriateness of this was further validated as a couple of young people were curious as to whether their parents will get to find out about their views whilst clearly indicating that they wouldn't want this. Parents' curiosity about their children's views was tactfully managed with general guidance to parents after the interviews about how they can develop a better understanding of their children's feelings and experiences when it comes to smartphone use and the impact of this on their relationship with their children.

Type of Interview

In collecting the research data, I used in-depth, semi-structured interviews. I chose this method as it allowed me to understand the research topic from children's and parents' own perspectives (Kvale, 1996: 1). In-depth, semi-structured interviews are discussed to be used to understand individual perspectives on a condition, experience or topic from interviewees' perspective (Hammarberg, Kirkman, and de Lacey, 2016: 499). Longhurst defines in-depth, semi-structured interviews as:

Verbal interchanges where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions. Even though interviewers tend to prepare a list of predetermined questions, in-depth, semi-structured interviews usually unfold in a conversational manner offering participants the chance to pursue issues they feel are important (2009: 580).

In preparing for the interviews, I developed interview guides (see Appendix VII and VIII) which contained open questions focused on the areas I wanted to explore in line with the main question of my research, which is the usual practice in semi-structured interviews (Daymon and Holloway, 2001: 171). By asking a series of open questions, I was able to

explore the research topic broadly as it allowed me to encourage the interviewees to expand on their views and experiences (Mathers et al., 2000: 6). This also helped me to explore similar topics and collect similar and useful open-ended data information to analyse children's and parents' views and feelings collectively (DeJonckheere and Vaughn, 2019: 1). Flick (2007: 56) discusses that this sort of consistency in method, in other words, the application of the interview guide, helps analyse the data from a comparative perspective as this would lead to the similarity of the research situations in which data are produced.

Although in-depth, semi-structured interviews are considered to be an effective way of collecting open-ended data (Daymon and Holloway, 2001), they are not without complications. Newton (2010: 4) discusses that the success and validity of an interview rest on the extent to which the respondents' opinions and experiences are truly reflected. This success and validity can also depend on the objective and open-ended nature of interview questions to allow the participants to share their views and experiences in their own terms and in depth. To achieve this, it is important that the interviewing happens in a way that does not influence the interviewees. In trying to ensure this, I made sure that the interview guide was free from any leading questions whilst I also remained vigilant during the interviews to ensure that questions deriving from the conversation were open questions usually in the form of "how" questions whilst at times repeating some of the narratives that the participants were narrating in an attempt to invite them to elaborate on their narratives. Gomm (2004, cited in Newton, 2010: 5) discusses that interviewees' responses can be influenced by what they think the situation requires, which he defines as "demand characteristics". Newton discusses that this could extend to the interviewees sharing what they think the interviewer wants to hear or the opposite of what the interviewer wants to hear. If this happens, validation techniques such as checks and probes can be used. Newton discusses that when there are doubts of this nature, it is the researcher's responsibility to sieve the data and pull evidence. In a couple of cases, there appeared to be slight inconsistencies in children's accounts and at times between parents' and children's accounts (perhaps in order not to portray their families negatively). However, in those cases, a consistent sense could be drawn when the interview data was read as a whole or in connection with the data of child or parent participants. In some cases, I did find that some parents and children were keener to share their experiences, views and feelings and discuss the topic whilst in some other instances, this wasn't the

case which is another limitation of qualitative interviews, in that, “not all interviewees make great participants” (Hatch, 2002, cited in DeJonckheere and Vaughn, 2019: 7).

A further complicating factor in qualitative interviews is that that researchers’ characteristics such as sex, age and ethnic origin can also have a bearing on the extent people would like to divulge information and their sincerity about what they reveal, which is described as the interviewer effect (Denscombe, 2010: 178). In this context, as a native researcher, I did feel that being from the same community, having lived in London for the past 14 years and being able to speak Kurdish, Turkish and English fluently did allow me to relate to the participants easier whilst this also presented the advantage of having an established understanding of certain cultural expectations. The sense of familiarity or being from the same country, culture and race may have enabled the participants to feel more comfortable about sharing their experiences. At the same time, it made me wonder whether all these familiarities impacted on participants’ transparency about their views, feelings or experiences as very often “family pride” is a significant value in the Turkish-speaking community. Nevertheless, in the interviews there wasn’t anything major that struck me as the narratives not being genuine. However, I am mindful that being from the same community may have still had bearings on the extent of shared views, feelings and experiences.

Recruitment

In terms of finding the families, I used my own and my wife's social networks. I initially approached seven families which met the research criteria. Four of those families accepted to participate in the study whilst two declined and one struggled with availability. An additional four families were recruited through the support of the first four families. For families and children’s convenience, interviews with parents and children from the first cohort families (8 families in total) were carried out during the 2019 October half-term apart from the pilot interview which was undertaken on 25 September 2019. Interviews with the second cohort of families (6 families in total) were carried out during the 2020 February half-term just before the pandemic.

I had planned to undertake interviews with 2 more families to reach 16 families in total; however due to the pandemic, I couldn’t progress with this. I subsequently considered

doing a second round of interviews (remotely due to Covid-19 related restrictions) with the same families to explore the impact of Covid-19 in the context of smartphone use and parent-child relationship. As part of this, I approached a couple of families to, unfortunately, find out that they were going through a hard time due to Covid-19. One of the parents was sadly reported to be in intensive care. This parent's sister and her two children were another family I had interviewed. Therefore, I felt it would be too insensitive to explore the idea of a second round of interviews with them. With another family, there had been a recent bereavement in the family. This led me to reconsider the idea of undertaking remote interviews with the same families; at the same time, I started to question whether this would be ethically compliant, because I had consistently undertaken separate interviews with parents and children to minimise any conflict or tension in case either party were critical of each other during the interviews. I, therefore, wasn't satisfied that virtual interviews will afford sufficient privacy/confidentiality because usually my wife would be sitting with whoever wasn't being interviewed, which was further allowing privacy of the interview. More substantially, I felt saturation had been reached as the interviews had already generated a large amount of data whilst the study findings clearly indicated that immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones negatively impacts on parent-child and family time, parent-child communication, parent-child relationship and parenting. Besides, given the fact that pre- and post-Covid circumstances were significantly different from one another, in that the latter were enforced and not normal circumstances, I had concerns that the obtained data from a second round of interviews wouldn't be reflective of the normal experiences of the families due to the unique challenges brought on by a very unprecedented pandemic that continues to affect the whole world. For all these reasons, the idea of having a second round of interviews with the same families was discarded.

Pilot Interview and Evaluation of Pilot Interview

I had initially planned 3 research methods for data collection. In line with the initial plan, I was first going to undertake a survey with each participant. I had accordingly prepared separate survey forms for children and parents. The surveys comprised questions around the socio-demographics of the participants and some descriptive questions around their smartphone use. The second stage of my initial plan was to have in-depth, semi-structured interviews with children and their parents. Again for this, I had prepared separate semi-

structured interview guides. Finally, I had planned to undertake a mini focus group discussion with participants from each family. In order to assess the viability and appropriateness of all of these research instruments, I undertook a pilot interview on 25 September 2019 with a father and son (15 years old). During the pilot interview, there was a direct reference by the adult participant that the whole process (survey followed by an interview) felt too long whilst some survey and interview questions felt repetitive. Additionally, I felt there wasn't a great harmony in transitioning from survey to the interview and as indicated by the adult participant, some of the explorations felt repetitive, whilst the adult participant struggled with the 0-10 measurement scale which was adopted in some of the survey questions for exploring feelings and perceptions regarding smartphone use habits. All this made me to reconsider my research method and in order to streamline the data collection process, I decided to explore the socio-demographic of parents and children alongside descriptive information about their smartphone use habits at the beginning of the interviews, which worked better as this served as a warm up to the interviews.

Also, during the pilot interview, there was strong dissatisfaction both on the young person's part about his parents' mobile phone use and on his father's part about his son's use. In particular, the young person shared some very strong feelings during the pilot interview whilst presenting emotional at times when sharing his feelings and experiences. For example, when his feelings about the words "smartphones", "parents" and "children" were explored, in an emotional tone his reply was "separation". Moving on, the young person elaborated on how they feel separate and far away from each other when both he and his parents are on their individual smartphones. He further talked about how this negatively impacts their communication and interaction, questioning the point of being a family if there is no communication. As such, it didn't feel appropriate to bring the young person and father into the same room for a focus group discussion. Therefore, in line with the ethical considerations, I decided not to have focus group discussions to avoid the research causing any distress or conflict between parents and children.

In-depth, Semi-structured Interviews with Children

Children were met at their own houses or at the home of a relative with their parents being present. They were provided with copies of the information sheet and consent form before

the interview. Whilst some children took their time to read the information sheet, some were happy with a verbal summary. Children were explained that in addition to their parents' verbal and written consent, I needed their own consent, hence why they were being given a separate consent form and information sheet about the purpose of my research. I had children's consent form and information sheet available both in Turkish and English. When explored, all children wanted to have the English copies of both forms. In terms of the interviews, children were met on their own to ensure they have space to freely express their views, feelings or share their experiences without their parents being exposed to this to avoid potential influence, conflict or distress in the event of sensitive views or comments with regards to the effect of smartphone use on their relationship with their parents. In total, I met with 19 children, of which 10 were female and 9 were male. Children were asked whether they would prefer to have the interviews in English or in Turkish and apart from 2 children, all other children expressed a preference for having the interviews in English. With the 2 children, who opted to have the interviews in Turkish, I explored whether they would feel comfortable with the interview taking place in English so that their views are conveyed in English in their own words. Since both children were completely fine with this, all of the interviews with the children were carried out in English.

The interview guide for the children consisted of 3 parts. The first part focused on the socio-demographics of the children, their smartphone use habits, their views and feelings around their smartphone use habits and the impact of their smartphone use on their lives. The second part focused on the impact of parental and child smartphone use and the impact of this on parent-child and family relationships from children's point of view. The third part focused on the role of smartphones in children's contact with their family members in Turkey whilst also focusing on how this subsequently impacted on their relationship with their parents.

In-depth, Semi-structured Interviews with Parents

Like children, parents were also met in their own houses or a relative's house for the interviews. Some families were related to each other (three of these families were closely related whilst three families were distantly related) and gathered at one family member's place for the interviews. Parents were informed about the content and purpose of the

research over the phone before I met them in person. When met in person, they were also provided with copies of the information sheet and consent forms in Turkish. Additionally, I provided a verbal summary of the information sheet and explained the purpose of the consent form whilst inviting the parents to ask questions about any areas they may be unclear about.

All families that were met were two-parent families, comprising a mother and a father apart from a separated mother with two children. Parents were met alone to avoid children or either of the parents being potentially exposed to likely sensitive views or comments with regards to the effect of smartphone use on parent-child and family relationships. In one family, I was able to meet with both parents whilst in all other families, I was able to only meet with one of the parents, mainly mothers, due to fathers' working commitments. In total, I met with 13 mothers and 3 fathers. All parents opted to have the interviews in Turkish, as such, the interviews were carried out in Turkish and the audios from these interviews were subsequently translated into English by myself.

Similar to the children, the interview guide for parents consisted of 3 parts. The first part focused on the socio-demographics of the parents, their smartphone use habits, their views and feelings in relation to their smartphone use and the impact of their smartphone use on their lives. The second part focused on the impact of parental and child smartphone use and the impact of this on the parent-child and family relationships from parents' point of view. The third part focused on the role of smartphones in children's contact with their family members in Turkey again from parents' point of view.

Data Analysis

In analysing the interview data, I used qualitative content analysis which is defined as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1278). I chose this approach because amongst the qualitative analysis approaches, qualitative content analysis is discussed to be the least interpretive as with this approach, the data does not have to be re-presented in any other terms but their own, which allows a direct reflection of gathered data in participants' own words (Sandelowski, 2000: 334-338). As a research technique used to make “replicable and valid inferences

from texts”, qualitative content analysis is discussed to “increase the understanding of a particular phenomenon, providing new insights whilst informing practical actions” (Krippendorff, 1980: 18). In their article on qualitative content analysis, Christen Erlingsson and Petra Brysiewicz (2017: 94) provides below the description of the aim and the stages of content analysis;

The objective in qualitative content analysis is to systematically transform a large amount of text into a highly organised and concise summary of key results. Analysis of the raw data from verbatim transcribed interviews to form categories or themes is a process of further abstraction of data at each step of the analysis; from the manifest and literal content to latent meanings.

In my study, I personally transcribed the audio recordings of all of the interviews. This was an arduous task, which is one of the difficulties of qualitative research (Denscombe, 2010: 275). However, this ended up having great benefits as through listening and listening again and transcribing the interviews, I was able to develop a sense of the main topics. As highlighted by Erlingsson and Brysiewicz (2017: 94-95), qualitative content analysis is a reflective process; as such, I remained mindful and vigilant to ensure that my own perceptions, assumptions or personal beliefs were not unconsciously influencing the analysis process or results. At the same time, my previous knowledge and understanding of parent-child attachment and factors that can affect the quality of parent-child relationship allowed me to be alert to the relevant content and have a deeper understanding of the relevant data. Highlighting the importance of this whilst also acknowledging that this is a difficult balancing task, Erlingsson and Brysiewicz stress (pp. 97) that researchers’ own reaction and intuitive responses are “a great asset in qualitative analysis, which shouldn’t be dismissed as unscientific” because this can alert the researcher to the content which may require extra attention whilst researchers’ pre-understanding of the topic can help a deeper understanding of the study data.

In trying to organise and make sense of the data, I initially organised the data in line with my research questions; however, later I developed a coding frame (see Appendix IX) to reflect the interview data more distinctively. As part of this, I read the transcripts and manually coded the interview data as I went along. In doing so, I was largely guided by the topics I explored as per the interview guide which broadly included children’s and parents’ pattern of use, their views and feelings about their pattern of use and the implications of the integration and use of smartphones on parent-child and family

relationships and the role of smartphones in children's communication with their family members in Turkey. This was helpful as it provided a starting point for me to code the interview data. This naturally led to the formation of categories which in the context of children's smartphone use included "patterns of children's smartphone use", "smartphones and non-educational use", "smartphones' role in children's learning", "smartphone use and its impact on children's health" and finally "managing children's smartphone use". These categories are presented under the theme "children's smartphone use, its implications and managing smartphone use". As for parents' smartphone use, the categories of "patterns of parents' smartphone use" and "parents' and children's views and feelings about parental smartphone use habits" were developed and these are illustrated under the theme "parents' smartphone use". In terms of children's and parents' views about the implications of the integration and use of smartphones on parent-child and family relationships, categories of "disconnection", "connection"; "active listening/communication", "inactive listening/communication"; "relationship difficulties" and "active parenting" and "non-active parenting" were developed. These categories led to the formation of the following themes "parent-child and family time", "parent-child communication", "relationship difficulties" and "parenting" respectively, which are all presented under the umbrella theme of "smartphones, parent-child and family relationships". Finally, with respect to the role of smartphones in children's communication with their family members in Turkey the categories of "why important?" and "source of positive feelings and subsequent interaction between children and parents" were developed and these categories are presented under the theme "smartphones' role in children's contact with family members in Turkey".

Summary

This chapter explained and justified the main methodological choices I used in my research. This included justification and elaboration on why I focused on the Turkish-speaking community in London and why I adopted a qualitative approach in collecting my study data. Also, it elaborated on the reasons for discarding the initial plan of administering a short questionnaire and doing focus groups. Furthermore, it justified and elaborated on why I used qualitative content analysis in analysing the interview data whilst discussing the limitations of qualitative research and reflecting on my own potential effect as a researcher on the research process and how this was managed.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the findings of the research. First, the thematized interview data on “children’s smartphone use, its implications and managing smartphone use” is illustrated. Under this theme, the categories of “patterns of children’s smartphone use”, “smartphones and non-educational use”, “smartphones’ role in children’s learning”, “smartphone use and its impact on children’s health” and finally “managing children’s smartphone use” present children’s and parents’ views and feelings in relation to each of these areas. Next, under the theme “parents’ smartphone use”, the categories of “patterns of parents’ smartphone use” and “parents’ and children’s views and feelings about parental smartphone use habits” illustrate the interview data in relation to each of these areas. The third section of the chapter addresses the main research question by illustrating the interview data on parent-child and family relationships. In doing so, the thematized interview data are illustrated under four themes under the umbrella theme of “smartphones, parent-child and family relationships”. First, the theme “parent-child and family time” reflects parents’ and children’s views and feelings in relation to the integration and use of smartphones and its implications for parent-child and family time, in other words, the sense of togetherness and joint family activities. Then, the theme “parent-child communication” reflects children’s and parents’ views and feelings about how the immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones impact on their communication opportunities and the quality of their interaction. Next, the theme “relationship difficulties” illustrates the interview data on how immersion into and high level of smartphone use results in relationship difficulties between children and their parents. After that, the theme “parenting” conveys parents’ and children’s views about how parental immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones impacts on parents’ quality of parenting in terms of their presence, availability and attentiveness. The fourth and last section of the chapter presents the interview data on the role of smartphones in children’s contact with their family members in Turkey under the theme “smartphones’ role in children’s contact with family members in Turkey”.

Children's Smartphone Use, its Implications and Managing Smartphone Use

Developing an understanding of children's smartphone use was felt to be contextual to the main topic of this research; as such, before exploring children's views and feelings in relation to how the integration and use of smartphones was impacting on their relationship with their parents, an understanding of their patterns of use and their views/feelings in this respect were sought. From the information gathered, smartphones facilitate children's access to a number of activities and opportunities, which are set out in detail in this section. As it will be seen, the type (educational or non-educational) and the level (low or high) of use was significantly related to both child and parental content and discontent about children's smartphone use.

Patterns of Children's Smartphone Use

From the data that was collected, children reported using smartphones (from the most cited to the least cited) for entertainment, learning, communication and social media. All the children, regardless of their age and gender, reported that they use smartphones for entertainment. In terms of the sort of entertainment, watching video entertainment (videos on social media and to a lesser extent, cartoons and films) was the most cited activity followed by playing games whilst YouTube was the most cited platform for accessing entertainment.

Using smartphones for learning was the second most cited area of use, which was another area of use reported by the majority of the children. Some children cited using smartphones for learning without prompting whilst some confirmed this when it was explored as to whether smartphones have a role in their learning. Learning activities included doing homework, checking in with friends regarding homework and schoolwork, researching, revising, watching educational videos and playing educational games.

Using smartphones for communication was the third most cited area of use by the children. Communication included mainly texting and talking to friends, contacting family members that live far away and keeping in touch with parents during trips to and from school. Social media was the fourth most cited area of use by the children. In terms

of social media apps, Instagram and Snapchat were the most cited apps with Instagram being the most cited one. Facebook and Twitter were each cited only once. It has to be acknowledged that the multi-functions of social media platforms and social messaging apps means that all these categories are inextricably linked, in other words, one category can involve multiple areas of use. For example, social media can be used both for communication and entertainment. Children’s patterns of smartphone use are illustrated in more detail below in Table 2.

Table 2: Patterns of Children’s Smartphone Use

		Main Areas of Reported Use
15 years old male child Family 1		<p>*Entertainment - Watching videos, YouTubers’ videos, playing games</p> <p>*Social media - Twitter and Instagram</p> <p>*Communication - For communicating with friends, checking what they are posting, using WhatsApp for contacting family members that live far away</p> <p>*Education - According to dad, he uses his smartphone to complete homework</p> <p>*Social messaging app - WhatsApp</p>
13 years old female child Family 2		<p>*Communication - For keeping in touch with parents when travelling to and from school</p> <p>*Entertainment - Watching stuff, taking photos</p> <p>*Information - Looking at the news, mostly the news about the royal family</p> <p>*Education - Helps with her homework</p>
9 years old female child	Family 3	* Entertainment - Playing games, watching cartoons
11 years old female child		<p>*Entertainment - Playing games and watching videos</p> <p>*Education - Checking in with friends regarding homework and other school work</p>
13 years old female child	Family 4	<p>*Entertainment - Watching videos on YouTube and Netflix, taking photos and videos</p> <p>*Social media - Going on Instagram to check what her extended family is doing and to check their activities</p> <p>*Education - For learning drawing techniques and completing work in Maths, English, searching stuff on Google, completing homework that is set online, revising, screen recording from camera and calling friends when unclear about homework</p>
14 years old male child		<p>*Entertainment - Playing games</p> <p>*Communication - Talking with cousins in Turkey</p> <p>*Education - Checking/doing homework sometimes</p>

10 years old male child	Family 5	* Communication - Texting friends, calling people * Entertainment – For watching YouTube videos and playing games * Education - Sometimes uses the calculator for his Maths homework.
15 years old female child		* Entertainment - YouTube, listening to music * Social media - Snapchat * Education - For accessing the science app
10 years old male child Family 6		* Entertainment - For playing * Communication - For calling cousins in Turkey * Education - For accessing Maths app for revising timetables
16 years old male child Family 7		* Communication - Messaging friends * Entertainment - Watching videos - gaming videos, real life videos, business related videos * Social media - Snapchat and Instagram * Education - Doing homework, researching
10 years old female child Family 8		* Entertainment - For YouTube and watching films, cartoons, gaming videos * Education - For project and research
12 years old male child Family 9		* Entertainment - Mainly for YouTube videos * Communication - Talking with relatives
9 years old male child	Family 10	* Entertainment - Watching football videos, watching games, playing games * Education - Watching maths videos, playing timetable games
12 years old female child		* Entertainment - YouTube, watching videos and sometimes playing games * Communication - For talking to friends * Social media - Instagram and Snapchat * Education - For completing homework set online
12 years old male child Family 11		* Entertainment - Playing * Other - Helping mum and dad if they need anything online
13 years old female child Family 12		* Communication -For talking to friends * Social media - Instagram and Facebook * Entertainment - Watching YouTube videos * Education - Researching when need to complete homework
11 years old female child Family 13		* Entertainment - Watching funny videos * Education - For doing homework
12 years old female child	Family 14	* Entertainment - Watching YouTube videos * Education - For completing homework and accessing Maths app to learn timetables
15 years old male child		* Communication -Talking to friends * Social media -Snapchat, Instagram * Entertainment - Watching YouTube videos

Smartphones and Non-educational Use

Children perceived their smartphone use for learning as helpful and being productive whilst describing their non-educational use, i.e. watching entertainment videos, playing games, as “useless” and “a waste of time”. Below are some of the responses given by the young people in this respect:

It depends on what you are doing on the smartphone. When I do homework on the smartphone, it is like, I feel quite happier because I have got it off my mind. So, like, I go downstairs to stay with my family and that, like, makes me quite happy. But, if I, sometimes, if I use the smartphone for entertainment, it can kind of, like, change the feeling, like, I have towards my family, it can like, I don't know ... (11 years old female child, family 13).

Sometimes I feel like it is useless. Like, the things I do is, kinda like, I don't need to do that, but I do because I am bored. Sometimes I find it useful because I am learning something, but most of the time, it's kind of like I don't need to go on it, but I do (13 years old female child, family 4).

A waste of my time. Because, of that time, I could have done anything else like read a book and talk to my mum about something, but I chose to go on my phone (10 years old male child, family 5).

I think it is a waste of time. I could put my time into better things, but it is just difficult, yeah (15 years old male child, family 14).

These experiences were shared by some other young people:

It wastes a lot of my time [...] I could be doing other stuff like drawing or maybe reading. I could be doing those kinds of stuff instead of just going straight for the internet (11 years old female child, family 13).

It wastes a lot of my time. Second of all, I know the thing I am doing is wrong, and it is not going to benefit me, but I still want it. Because, like it makes, when you do it the first time, it goes on continuously, it doesn't stop. You just want to watch it more, you look at it more (13 years old female child, family 2).

It makes me use a lot of time. It is very time-consuming (11 years old female child, family 3).

A teenager commented how he felt he wasn't being productive when he was using his smartphone for entertainment:

I used to think it was bad. It was bad before year 11 because I wasn't being productive, because I wasn't like doing homework that much or revising [...] I was being lazy and less productive. But now, I am using it more purposefully for homework or revision (16 years old male child, family 7).

A couple of children expressed feelings of “guilt” for using their smartphone a lot and for not using them for useful things:

It's useful for me in, like, certain circumstances. But (on) weekends, it is like, I feel guilty because I use it a lot and like I don't use it for useful stuff as well. So sometimes I try not to use it, I go out but it doesn't really work. E.²⁰ At the times when you go out how different does it feel? Better because I am more present outside and I have fun so I don't see the need of using my phone (15 years old female child, family 5).

Echoing similar feelings another child shared:

I feel a bit guilty. E. What makes you feel guilty? Because it is not my phone, it is her phone (referring to her mother) and she doesn't use it much. I am using more than her (11 years old female child, family 3).

Another young person who wanted to reduce her smartphone use shared:

I think I could spend the time speaking to my mother, and spending time with her downstairs instead of me in my room by myself speaking to my friends (13 years old female child, family 12).

Children who reported discontent about the level and nature of their smartphone use felt they tend to do more beneficial activities and use their time more productively when their smartphone use was low or when they were not busy on their smartphones. Reflecting this, one young person commented:

When I am using it, it takes mostly a lot of my time. But when I am not using it, I really do beneficial stuff like it actually is, I feel like it (the smartphone) corrupts a child's imagination. Because you are always addicted to it. But then when you are not looking at it, you really discover other stuff that you like, you get more interests and you have more hobbies. But then otherwise it doesn't really help you, benefit you (13 years old daughter, family 2).

²⁰ “E.” is the initial of the researcher's first name.

Another young person, whose smartphone had been removed from him due to his excessive use, talked about how not being on his phone felt better as he could do his homework:

It felt better because I wasn't stuck to the phone and I could do my homework (15 years old male child, family 1).

Sharing how her mother would praise her when she is not using her phone and how she would be excited to tell this to her mother (indicating that low smartphone use can be a source of praise and content for children) a young person shared:

Oh, when it's low, I will tell my mum I didn't go on my phone all day today. She will be like, "Well-done", but when it is high, I don't really say anything and she would just be like, "Leave your phone" and stuff like that (15 years old female child, family 5).

Looking at children's views, there appeared to be a common perception of what constituted "useful" and "useless" smartphone use, in that children seemed to attribute positive feelings to their smartphone use for learning and spending time with their family whilst associating negative feelings with their non-learning time on the smartphones. They expressed discontent with their non-educational use, which they described as "time consuming", "a waste of time" or "useless" whilst being open about their struggle to limit or control their use. Also, as it will be set out in the parent-child relationship section, the type of use which they considered as a "waste of time" was reported to be a source of relationship difficulties between children and their parents, indicating that children were, in a way, experiencing a double effect, in that they were both experiencing the inner discontent with regards to their non-learning use whilst also experiencing emotional implications that stemmed from their parents' reactions to their non-educational smartphone use especially when this was excessive.

Smartphones and Children's Learning

Almost all of the interviewed children seemed to value smartphones as a tool that helps them with their learning and feeding their interests. During the interviews, some children cited using smartphones for learning without prompting whilst some confirmed this after exploration as to whether smartphones had a role in their learning. As reported by the children, learning included activities such as completing homework online, checking in with friends about homework and other school work, researching, revising, watching

educational videos and playing educational games. Talking about the role of smartphones in their learning, children shared:

It helps me with education quite a lot because I do watch, like, maths videos and science videos as well and they are more useful. And there are, like, maths websites I can go on and science as well (15 years old female child, family 5).

Sometimes, you know, sometimes I watch, like, videos of this guy doing maths. And sometimes I play this timetable rock star game and then I learn my timetables really quick (9 years old male child, family 10).

Another young person shared how she would use her smartphone for completing her online homework and searching for things:

Well, Google is very useful for doing work. Because my teachers set online homework as well. So it is very useful to do that and it is good to search up things, to call my friends if I don't understand the homework, I do that as well. I revise from camera, like screen recording (13 years old female child, family 2).

A young person said how she would use her smartphone to broaden her skills in Art:

I do a lot of, if it is YouTube I go on YouTube, if it is like for, I do a lot of drawing if I want to learn techniques or stuff. I sometimes do that, like to learn other techniques and different stuff because I do art GCSE (13 years old female child, family 4).

Other young people shared that they would use their smartphone for homework and revision:

Yeah, before I used to have this app, this timetable thing. You press revision and there is mixed and you just write the answer down at the bottom. And I had something else, it was like a work problem thing (10 years old male child, family 6).

I do my English homework but not anything else. E. Any other learning activities you do on your smartphone? There is this timetable thing where I do that too (11 years old female child, family 14).

Sometimes I use my calculator for my maths homework (10 years old male child, family 5).

Sometimes I call my friends to ask them about homework and stuff from school (11 years old female child, family 3).

As mentioned in the earlier section, children perceived their smartphone use for learning positively. With respect to parents' views regarding the role of smartphones in their children's learning, similar to the children, parents attributed positive feelings to their children's smartphone use for learning while they were able to recognise their functions in their children's learning. Reflecting this, one parent shared:

My son used to watch YouTube channels generally. He was playing Minecraft. Also, he wants to become a robotic engineer, so he was watching channels that were informative and relevant to his interests. Sometimes they sign in and complete that week's homework (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

A parent mentioned how through using WhatsApp she was able to support her daughter to improve her reading and written Turkish skills to the point that she was studying A-level in Turkish:

Yes, they have cousins with whom they are in regular contact over WhatsApp. This is the nicest side of smartphones. For example, we are living in London and I have taught my daughter Turkish over WhatsApp. She was able to speak, but she was not able to read or write in Turkish, she was always texting me in English. But I told her, "Let's text in Turkish". Even when in her room, she started texting me in Turkish. I am doing the same thing with my son. So I can say that this has been the best side of smartphones. Her Turkish is A-level and one of the reasons her Turkish is A-level is Turkish texting via WhatsApp. Even when she had homework, she would text me in Turkish and I would text her back making corrections to what she had written. So it has been helpful in that respect (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

Another parent, who shared that her younger children would use their smartphone for watching films, reported:

My eldest daughter tends to learn stuff on the smartphone, which is nice (Mother to 3 children, family 2).

However, one parent disagreed that smartphones have a positive role or were essential in children's learning:

Kids have nothing to learn from smartphones [...] Entertainment leads to stress and boredom after a while because you don't get anything out of it. You are just making whoever designed the game to earn money or you buy games and pay for it just like my eldest son did to me (Father to 4 children, family 1).

What sort of use can smartphones be for the children, they do homework (on the smartphone) which they can also do on computers! Even if there is no smartphone, there are computers. How were people managing in the past?! I don't think kids need smartphones. When they go out, you can keep in contact with them via a basic phone unless you have a video call with them. I don't think smartphones are of any help to children (Father to 4 children, family 1).

Having reported these views, this father also shared how when it comes to learning, he will prioritise his children's use over his one while also reporting that children are using homework as an excuse to get his smartphone from him to then play games on it or for other activities:

For example, my eldest son, he, tells me that he needs the smartphone to do his homework and when he says homework, everything stops. When they say we need the phone for homework, even if I need it for my work, I will still give it to them. Of course, he fools me and gets the phone from me. Sometimes I catch him playing games or for other things. So he is lying to get the phone from me. When this happens I just get the phone from him and switch it off (Father to 4 children, family 1).

Besides, children felt when their smartphone use was high and unrestricted this was messing up with their routines and daily functioning, reporting experiences of "feeling more tired", "staying up late and waking up early to use the smartphone", "having concentration difficulties at school" and "sleeping in school". Reflecting this, a young person said:

It made me a bit more tired because I will stay up a bit later to use my phone and then I will wake up earlier to use my phone as well. E. How was that affecting you when you were feeling tired? I wouldn't be able to concentrate in the lessons. I would be more tired in the lessons. I might need to sleep more, like I would have the need to sleep in the lessons. So I might close my eyes and rest for a bit (15 years old male child, family 1).

Feeling so tired to sleep in school was an issue shared by another young person:

Sometimes when I can't sleep I will use my phone. And yeah, during the summer, for example, sometimes I wouldn't sleep till 2-3 in the morning. E. How would you feel afterwards? I will sleep in school. So, it will be really bad (15 years old female child, family 5).

Another young person reported how she would feel tired throughout the day when she stays up till late, keeping busy on her smartphone:

I don't know but when I do go on my smartphone, let's say at 11 or 12pm, if I do that then, well, I do wake up at the same time but I'm more tired throughout the day (13 years old female child, family 4).

This young person further shared:

I get extremely bored when I do go on my phone so I don't want to go on my phone. Because of it I get bored and then, I can't revise.

Sharing similar experiences, this young person's brother, whose smartphone had been removed from him due to excessive use, shared:

In year 7, it started in year 5 I think, where there was this old phone. I was playing a game on it because I couldn't sleep. I got really bored and I was sleeping downstairs. I was, like, so bored. I just played a game on it. It was getting addictive. I think it started there and then I left it because we went to Turkey and there we don't have internet on our phones and then I, like, got used to it like that. And then I went on the phone again just watching videos before I slept which actually delayed my sleeping I think but sometimes it didn't. A quarter of time, it did (14 years old male child, family 4).

This young person, who felt dragged by the temptation of "10 minutes more, 10 minutes more", shared how watching videos was his distraction and escape from the amount of work he had to complete:

Then (before his smartphone was removed), I was thinking, oh, I should get off because I was thinking the day before I went on it for too long [...] I was like just 10 minutes more, 10 minutes more. And then, I used to watch videos because there was so much work. I wanted to just get away from it and watch them and just don't think about the work, yeah (14 years old male child, family 4).

Another young person talked about how he would be distracted from his learning and discouraged from doing his homework when he is busy on his phone.

I don't think it is good for my school life because when I use my phone I can't do homework because I am stuck to the phone. And unless I need the phone to do my homework, then it is not a problem, but if I have my phone and I'm on my phone it distracts me from my learning, I don't want to do my homework because I am on my phone (15 years old male child, family 1).

Reporting similar views, parents felt their children's learning was negatively affected by their children's smartphone use, especially when their use was high. Reflecting this one parent shared:

Smartphones have become a toy in the hands of all children, from a baby to the eldest child. Even babies get excited when they see smartphones, and they want to have them. I am not happy that the kids are always on their smartphones. They are constantly on their phone either chatting or playing games. If you allow them, they will be on the phone from early in the morning till evening, constantly playing. This naturally affects their education. I am not happy about this. But also, mothers (referring to his wife) do this. Gaming habits cause addiction. Since they (mothers) are home bound, because of boredom (they are on their phone a lot). I am not happy about this either. Because, it leads to laziness. I am grateful to God that I haven't got such a habit. I may have played a game once, but I haven't got the habit of downloading a game and playing it, because I don't feel the need for this (Father to 4 children, family 1).

This father further shared:

Today, as soon as my youngest son got back from school he said, "Dad, can I play on your phone?" His primary focus is playing. He doesn't say, "Dad, can I do my homework". This of course makes me worried. I am like, "How far will this kid get by playing?!" Someone has designed a game and put it there and this becomes a focus of attention for kids. And therefore, they don't think about their lessons but rather they go after the games that have captured their attention. This, of course, makes us worried because we are not raising the kids as game players or for them to spend their time on the phone but rather for them to study to achieve a qualification.

Talking about how her daughter's attainment dropped after they got a smartphone for her, a mother voiced:

I am not happy about it. For example, my daughter (17 years old), her attainment in her lessons dropped a lot after she started to use the smartphone. Her lessons were really good and she used to read. I feel we have done her the biggest wrong by getting her the smartphone [...] she no longer reads and she started to build silly friendships with people she doesn't know. She has started to do wrong things and I feel guilty. E. How do you feel about your son's use? He just started to have a smartphone. He seems to be quite excited about it. He is familiarising himself with the phone. I don't feel he is going to use it for education because he has already downloaded WhatsApp and Snapchat so he will be chatting to his friends. I haven't

seen him downloading anything educational like timetables etc. (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

A mother, who reported that her daughter stopped reading books after getting her smartphone and how her son is using his smartphone a lot, expressed:

I really never wanted them to have smartphones. For the past two months, my son (10 years old) has been using my old smartphone. There was no SIM in it and I told his dad not to give it to him. But he (referring to her son) demanded it a lot and I am like, "He can ask for it but he is not of an age to have the smartphone!" But his dad just gave it to him. There is no SIM card in it. He plays games on it. I didn't want it. My daughter (15 years old) used to read books quite a lot before she got a smartphone. She stopped reading books after getting the smartphone (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

Sharing her worries around how her children's absorption into smartphones will lead to them isolating themselves within the home, this parent talked about how she has felt compelled to sign up her son for the homework club due to his addiction to his smartphone and how her son is not happy about attending the homework club:

It affects the children a lot in terms of their lessons or coming down (from their room to the living room). They are always upstairs, on their phone, which is affecting us. It impacts on our son because he doesn't study that much anyway. Therefore, I have signed him up for the homework club. But then he argues with me and moans about that as well (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

Another parent, who had removed her son's smartphone due to her worries that it was impacting on his education, shared:

It was too much. I get really upset because I think it is harmful for their brain. If he was to spend the time he spends on his smartphone on his lessons, he will be able to do his GCSEs but he doesn't spend enough time studying. E. How was your son's reaction when you removed his smartphone? (Mum) He said, "Mum can I have it back?" He wasn't angry or didn't become aggressive, but he kept asking to have it back. I hid it and never gave back. E. How did that make you feel, that constant request to have it back? (Mum) It was tiring me, but I was determined not to give it to him because I just had enough of seeing him on the phone. He was on it all the time, with the smartphone it is more practical and easy to use. But now he is logging on the desktop, at least I can see what he is up to, how much time he spends on it. Also, he is not lying in bed. With the smartphone,

he would lie down in the bed. With the desktop, at least I can see what he is doing, and I have more control over it (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

This mother further shared that the smartphones were a source of distraction for children which was affecting their ability to focus on their learning:

I think it is stopping them from getting concentrated.

Sharing similar worries another mother shared:

When my daughter is doing her school work, she can get diverted to watching a YouTube video. This does get me a bit worried as she is not able to concentrate or complete her work (Mother to 2 children, family 10).

A mother, who shared that her son's smartphone use would get in the way of him completing his homework, shared:

He doesn't do his homework; he doesn't care; he was excluded for five days from his school (Mother to 3 children, family 8).

Looking both at children's and parents' views, there appeared to be a shared recognition of the benefits of smartphones when used for learning, while at the same time, both children and parents shared concerns about the negative interference of smartphone use with children's learning and the disruption this causes for their learning experiences.

Smartphone Use and its Impact on Children's Health

High level of smartphone use was associated with various health issues by children and their parents, including sleep deprivation, lack of movement, weight gain, feeling sick, having headaches, hands feeling fuzzy, lack of energy, eyes going red, eyes hurting and feeling tired. A young person whose mother was very concerned about his level use and his lack of movement as a result reported:

When I come back from school and I go on my phone, I think, like, I am losing, like, energy or something. Like I don't have enough energy in me to go downstairs. E. Do you experience anything else? My head hurts sometimes (10 years old male child, family 5).

Talking about her experiences, another young person shared:

Sometimes I get, like, sick; I feel really sick after I go on the phone. E. In what way? I get headaches or like sometimes I get a headache. Or sometimes I actually

feel, like, sick. And I think that's because of ,like, the types of videos, it is kinda like very, you know, vomit and then it kinda makes me sick like car crashes and then it kind of makes me sick, I guess. So it is not because of going on my phone, it is the videos on the phone, it kinda makes me sick (13 years old female child, family 4).

Another teenager, whose smartphone was removed from him due to excessive use, talked about some other symptoms:

My eyes were hurting a bit [...] I've also felt my hands feel fuzzy; I don't know why that is. But it's probably harming my body. And sometimes I can't sleep if I have my phone under my pillow, which also means it is not good because it emits radio waves (15 years old male, family 1).

Parents, who had concerns about the level of their children's smartphone use, reported worries about the negative impact of smartphone use on their children's health. These worries ranged from the children experiencing "disturbed sleeping", "eyes going red", "limited movement/mobility" and as a result, "weight gain" and concerns that children may develop health issues such as neck problems and back pain. Talking about her worries on her children's health, a mother expressed:

I think the signals are really disturbing. I think it is leading to forgetfulness. My daughter (13 years old) has said that she can't sleep. So I am wondering whether phone signals are disrupting her sleep (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

This mother also shared how she had to take away her son's smartphone from him as she was worried that it was going to affect his physical health:

I have removed my son's smartphone from him because he was always on the phone. I was worried that it was going to affect his physical health, such as neck problems, back pain, bone warping. At least now he can sit up in front of the desktop and this wouldn't harm his body.

Another mother shared how her son's eyes would go red because of his excessive use:

My son's (10 years old) eyes go red sometimes. When that happens, I bring the mirror for him to see it, and he will be like, "Ok, I won't go on it that much", but half an hour later he is back on it (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

This mother also added concerns about her son's lack of movement and how she is worried about the impact of this on his health:

I wouldn't want my son (10 years old) to use it at all because children become inactive. He is always sitting. He doesn't move.

Sharing similar experiences, another mother said:

Sometimes I get angry and take it off her (her 17 years old daughter) because she doesn't come out of her room, and she has been putting on weight because she is not moving a lot. Even when she is eating dinner, she has the phone in her hand watching the series. Her movement has become limited. She started not to come out of her room (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

Besides, some parents reported how desperate they feel because when they try to limit their children's smartphone use this can be a cause of conflict and aggression, which indicates the emotional health/well-being implications in the context of their relationship with their parents. A mother, who shared how her children would struggle to regulate their emotions and act out when she removes the phone from them, expressed:

When the younger ones are on it, they mostly tend to watch films, and when I remove it, they become very angry and aggressive. Therefore, I feel it is negatively affecting them (Mother to 3 children, family 2).

Talking about similar experiences, another mother shared:

E. You said you sometimes take your daughter's phone off her - how is your relationship affected by this? She would react, sulk and get cross. I would be like, "If you carry on like this, we will take the phone back" (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

Drawing attention to peer-bullying, this mother further shared:

We are stuck between a rock and a hard place. Previously, we got our daughter a basic Nokia phone; however, her peers were mocking her. When I used to call her, she would tell me, "Don't call me because I won't answer". And when I was like, "Why?", she would say, "Because when I take my phone out, everyone laughs at me and even mocks me over WhatsApp". So, we got her a smartphone because she was getting embarrassed and mocked but we did wrong. And now my husband is always blaming me for this because I was the one who advocated more for her to get a smartphone. After getting the phone, due to group chats, house chats, etc. I never see my daughter reading.

Talking about a different dimension of peer pressure, a young person shared:

Like when I was watching videos, it was, like, normal, but when it came to, like, texting, talking to my friends, it did kind of annoy me. Like, let's say I said I don't want to use my phone anymore and I told that to my friends. So like if you are calling me that's why I am not picking up, they will say "Oh, why you aren't you doing it, everyone has a phone". And I started to speak to my mum about it and she said not everyone has to have a phone and then that's why I stopped using my phone (12 years old female child, family 10).

This young person also talked about how her smartphone use impacted on her social skills:

That's (using her smartphone a lot) kind of like something that made me more shy. Because I am, like, always on the phone and not outside but like in terms of my home life, it didn't have any impact, it didn't cause any arguments. It is just like maybe my parents would say, "Don't use it and would get upset".

Managing Children's Smartphone Use

In terms of rules and boundaries around children's smartphone use, both parents and children reported an absence of clear or negotiated "rules" around children's smartphone use. It appeared that parents' way of trying to manage their children's smartphone use was mainly through "verbal discouragement" whilst in cases of high level of use "removal of smartphones", "not getting home broadband", "switching off the internet" and "hiding the phone" were the strategies they were resorting to. Reflecting on this, a young person shared:

I don't think so (in response to whether there are any rules around smartphone use). Well, they used to, like, see how long I was on the phone for and then like yeah, my mum was taking kids somewhere so they didn't realise, but then they started taking my phone off me, like I used to go on the phone for too long (14 years old male child, family 4).

Another young person reported:

Not really, we don't have rules but then if I use it a lot my mum would warn me, like, "Drop the phone and don't look at it". But then of course because there are no rules it just is in your hand, so you put the rule (13 years old female child, family 2).

A teenager shared how her parents would encourage her not to go on her smartphone too much, however, she would keep her smartphone on throughout the night so that people can reach them as her mother would be switching her smartphone off at night time:

Umm, they (referring to dad and mum) tell us not to go on it too much. And we turn off our phones at night. My mum does, I don't. Because my alarm is on and if she turns her phone off, then people if they call her, they can't reach her, so they call me because my mum never turns on her phone like never opens her phone even when someone calls her, like even if it is in the morning she never opens it so I always keep my phone open in case they call me (13 years old female child, family 4).

One young person shared that there is this rule of him not going on his smartphone a lot:

For my smartphone, I have rules like not to go on it so much and to watch what I tell my mum I would watch. Basically before I watch videos I tell my mum (9 years old male child, family 10).

A teenager shared:

Well, my mum usually says, "Don't go on it a lot and if I don't listen to her, then I get my phone taken away" (11 years old female child, family 14).

A year 11 student explained how she used to hand her smartphone over at night time and how she is now self-restricting her use in preparation of her GCSEs:

I used to do that (hand over her phone to her mum), but now I will just go upstairs; I will switch my own phone off until I finish my homework. When I finish my homework, I would switch it back on. I will usually listen to music while I am revising, but if I don't switch my phone off, I will listen to music when I am doing my homework. But when I use downtime, I can restrict the apps I use until a certain time for, like, I usually do 10 o'clock, 10.30. It will be from 8 o'clock in the morning to 10.30. It is restricted and I don't use it, but there will be certain apps I can use. So, for example, I keep my phone app so I can call people and music because I listen to music and my science app so I can revise on that. But other apps are restricted and I can't go on them (15 years old female child, family 5).

This young person reported that at times her mum would yell at her due to her high smartphone use and would threaten with removing her phone, which she thought wasn't a solution. Reflecting on this, she said:

Because them taking away the phone, the child is gonna, like, wanna like annoy the parent more and use their phone more but if they just like restrict them or the

time they use on their phone I think that will be better because the child will slowly then get used to using their phone less as well.

Echoing similar views, a couple of young people reported that having an exact time limit would be better:

No, not really (in response to whether there are any rules around smartphone use)! I think if you had rules around smartphone use it would be better because you know how long you should be using it for, when you should leave it. It could reduce your usage, which is good for you and your relationship with your family (15 years old male child, family 1).

At one point, there were a few rules. My parents would tell me the exact time I had to give back to them, but then I would forget about that (the time) and my mum would forget about it too. E. Was that helpful having that exact time? Yeah, because it really reduced my use (11 years old female child, family 13).

One young person (11 years old female child, family 3) said that they would be only allowed on the smartphone if they have done their homework, whilst another young person (10 years old male child, family 5) said his parents have set this rule that he is not to watch any inappropriate videos such as videos involving swearing.

The absence of clear rules around children's smartphone use was echoed by parents. One parent resented the fact that they had no rules around smartphone use whilst expressing that he has tried to set rules in the past but this hasn't worked, so he has given up:

There are none. Everyone is on their phone. We used to collect the phones at night time when it was bedtime. But we no longer do that. What is the point of a life without rules! There are rules with everything. When you are doing something without rules, the kids do whatever they want. I have tried to control it, but I am fed up. I have no intention to try further. Maybe after we go to bed, they are on their phones throughout the night. Now, in order to stop them from taking my phone, I hide it in our room. We took our eldest son's phone away from him 3-4 weeks ago (Father to 4 children, family 1).

Similar experiences were shared by another parent:

I used to change the password a lot, especially for my daughter. But despite me changing the password so often, this wasn't working as she used to decipher the code. My smartphone got blocked twice due to the amount of time I had to change my password because I was not able to recall the passwords. But now I don't use passwords, I do still use them, but she knows the password. I am no longer

changing it. I have given up. I have also tried to hide it, but this wasn't working either as she would find the phone. Now I am not hiding it because it has no use. I now leave it out in the open and tell her not to pick it, but if I get busy with something in the house and I am back, I see the phone in her hand. E. How do you feel when this happens? I tell her to leave the phone. She says ok. Then I would be occupied with something else and when I am back she would still have the phone in her hand. I am now looking for a solution, I am not sure what to do (Mother to 3 children, family 13).

A different parent shared how she has withheld her daughter's (12) smartphone several times in an attempt to manage her use to no avail:

My daughter is, like, addicted to it. She is always on the phone. She doesn't help out with anything, and I am struggling to cope with her use. I have spoken to one of my friends about this and was told that I shouldn't give the phone to her, which I have tried several times, but it doesn't work (Mother to 3 children, family 14).

Discussing how she is not able to monitor her children's smartphone use that much, another parent shared how she would guide her children about appropriate use:

I tell her not to use it too much. Like, I tell her, "Don't go on the phone as soon as you are back from school, first do your homework, then you can go on the phone for half an hour or an hour", but I am not able to control it that much. I tell them, speak to them about it but I am not able to monitor their use that much. I go into their room and see what they are looking at. I always see my son's activity. When my daughter is in her room, I ask her whether I can have a look at her phone and would ask her what she has been up to on the phone and she would tell me. She listens to music. There are YouTube channels she follows which are informative. I tell her not to watch unnecessary stuff and contaminate her brain (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

This mother, who had removed her son's smartphone, reflected how banning children's access to certain apps or removing smartphone was not a solution, shared:

All of my daughter's friends have Instagram accounts. If I was to ban that, I can't because all her friends are on Instagram. I feel like they need to learn about online dangers through use. I have removed the phone from my son, but at the same time, I don't want to because I am like he needs to learn to control his use. That is a healthier way (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

Another parent shared:

I don't have any rules for myself. To be honest, I should have some but for the children after they are on it for a while, I will be like, "Come on, have a break". Kids are also like us. As soon as there is the opportunity, they will go on it just like us (Mother to 2 children, family 9).

A father, who also reported that there were no rules around children's smartphone use, added that they are planning to reduce smartphone use to improve the communication within the home:

There isn't any at the moment. But we are thinking about a rule around reducing smartphone use to prioritise the communication between the family members (Father to 4 children, family 3).

Similarly, one mother talked about how they are trying to have digital free times by switching off the TV and the internet to ensure that her children complete their homework but also to improve communication and promote family time together:

Recently, I have been completely switching off the internet that we have at home. If there is homework that needs to be completed, I also switch off the TV and we sit down at the desk to do our work. Because, if I tell them it is homework time and then if I go on my smartphone, this won't work because I know my child sees me as the role model within the home, and I am aware that he looks at me to see what I am doing. So, I switch off the internet and the TV, and we all sit down together to do homework. When we do that, I see that we can get some stuff done (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

A couple of parents explained how they are refraining from getting home broadband in order to control their children's smartphone use:

The kids are always on the phones. Each one of them goes on their phones. Since we haven't got home broadband, they connect to neighbours' internet and they use those phones for hours. I didn't get home broadband as I am worried they will always be on the phone. If we were to have the home internet, imagine how it will be like! They will be surfing (on the internet) day and night. Therefore, I am not signing up for home broadband. I would like them to use it for their education but they are not using it for education but for unnecessary things such as looking at artists, watching films or listening to music (Father to 4 children, family 1).

Another parent shared:

We don't have the internet at home. When she is on the phone for a while we limit it, telling her, "That's enough". But there isn't a specific rule because we don't

have home internet. E. You don't feel the need for the home internet? In fact, we do. Up until recently, I was taking the kids to the internet cafe for their homework or library. E. Is it (not having the home internet) for limiting or controlling their use? Yeah, I feel like I am not able to limit my use and I feel quite discontent with this. I wouldn't want my children to be in the same situation (Father to 3 children, family 2).

Looking at children and parents' feedback, managing children's smartphone use appears to be an area that both children and parents struggle with. Yet, there appear to be a lack of clear rules and parents appear to be mostly resorting to verbal discouragement or strategies that don't offer long-term solutions especially in cases of high use.

Common wish for less use

Half of the interviewed children felt they were spending too much time on their smartphones and expressed discontent about this. These children talked about being carried along by their use and struggling to control their use:

My parents usually say, "Get off it". I say, "Ok" and then I just carry on. It just makes my parents quite mad. It is just out of my control (11 years old female child, family 13).

When you do it the first time, it goes on continuously. It doesn't stop, you just want to watch it more, you look at it more [...] Because when you look at it you just get addicted to it. Of course, when you are doing the thing, when you are, like, discovering stuff it makes you want to do more. And you are like, I wish I didn't look at the phone (13 years old female child, family 2).

The more I go on it the more I want to carry on. But if my mum lets me go on it for a limited time, then it is ok, I don't want to constantly keep going on it (11 years old female child, family 3).

For some of the children not having anything to do at home or the absorption into their smartphones after the initial plan of using for a short amount of time were the reasons that were leading to high level of smartphone use:

Well, before I got my phone taken away, I was on it a lot like probably the whole day. And then I kind of went down every time my phone got taken away. What led to you using your smartphone that much? It is because I don't because it is like it is pretty cold outside so I am not really allowed out (and) there isn't a lot of stuff to do at home. So I just go on my phone (12 years old female child, family 14).

Umm, in my opinion I think I am using it way too much than I am meant to be. I always say to my mum I will have it for half an hour and the half an hour turns into one hour, two hours (11 years old female child, family 13).

I think it is a lot, but there is nothing to do at home, so I have to use it (15 years old male child, family 14).

I used it a bit too much (15 years old male child whose smartphones had been removed from him due to excessive use, family 1).

I think I use it a bit too much (12 years old female child, family 12).

A few children had their smartphones removed from them due to their excessive use, with one of the children reporting that this had happened multiple times. When explored how this experience felt for them, children shared:

I felt like something left me, like a part of me, because I use my phone a lot [...] Now I don't have a phone, it is not that bad (15 years old male child, family 1).

This young person further expressed how he also feels left out because of not having his phone whilst his parents would be on their ones.

I feel a bit left out because sometimes there isn't the phone, I am just there doing nothing because they (referring to his parents) have their phones and I don't (15 years old male child, family 1).

Sharing similar experiences, another teenager, who said her smartphone had been removed from her probably more than 5 times due to her excessive use, reported:

It felt pretty different (without her smartphone), because I didn't have, like, nothing to go with. I was just sitting on the couch and playing with my baby sister (12 years old female child, family 14).

Another young person, who had agreed with her mother to stop using her smartphone due to her excessive use, echoed similar experiences:

At first it was, like, hard because I have just been playing games all my life and like, I didn't know what to do (without the smartphone) (12 years old female child, family 10).

Talking further about her experience, this young person shared:

Well, it is like, it doesn't have any stress on you. Like you have to take your phone everywhere or I don't know but it was just like, calm, like without this technology you can go outside, have some fresh air (12 years old female child, family 10).

A teenager, whose smartphone had been removed from him, described his experience as normal although expressing that he feels annoyed as being without his smartphone meant he couldn't talk to his cousins, text them or play games with them:

I feel normal. The only annoying bit is if I could use my smartphone for one thing, it would be to talk to my cousins, text with them and play games with them (14 years old male child, family 4).

As shown in Table 2, children are performing various activities via their smartphones thanks to their multiple functions. This inevitably leads to a growing connection with smartphones as they are tools not only for communication, but also for entertainment, education and social media alongside other features they offer. Considering children's experiences around the removal of their smartphones in this context would be helpful in better understanding both the opportunities and the challenges that come with the integration of smartphones into our lives.

Although half of the children felt they were spending too much on their smartphones, most of them expressed that they would like their current smartphone use to be different. Reducing their time on their smartphone was a common wish shared by the young people. Below are some of the responses given by them in this respect:

Yes, I really want to stop, like, using electronics way too much. I want to, like, focus on my school work instead of just diving into the internet (11 years old female child, family 13).

I would want to spend less time on it, speak to my friends less because I see them at school (13 years old female child, family 12).

I think it could be lower as well. Especially when I am with my friends, I will still use my phone more than I will be talking to them. It doesn't create a friendly environment, we are just there together (15 years old male child, family 1).

I think I don't want to go on my phone that much because I feel like I wanna improve my subjects (13 years old female child, family 4).

I would want to spend less time on it (13 years old female child, family 12).

If I try to make it better I just watch like an hour of YouTube and the whole day just gonna help my mum (12 year old female child, family 14).

Sharing how proud she is about her use during the week as she doesn't use it too much, a young person shared that she would like to do the same thing on the weekends:

During the weekdays, I'm fine because I don't really use it as much. I am proud of not using as much but weekends, I do quite use it a lot. Like yesterday, I slept at 4am, but that wasn't because I was on my phone because I was revising, but I started work quite late as well because I was on my phone so I would try to use it less during the weekend as well (15 years old female child, family 5).

A different young person reported that he would like to use his smartphone only for home work and maximum for one hour per day:

Yeah, not like 2-3 hours, like maximum 1 hour per day and that's like when I only need it for my homework or anything (10 years old male child, family 5).

Another child expressed:

Yeah, I would want my parents to make the time limit smaller, around one or two hours less (9 years old male child, family 10).

Commenting on how she would struggle to limit her use when she uses her mother's one for completing homework due to its unlimited data, a young person said that she would like a bit more data on her own smartphone to complete her homework to avoid the need to go on her mum's phone:

I would want a little bit of internet to help with my homework and not spend my time (on the phone). Because when we have a lot of internet in my mum's phone, when I start looking at my homework, then I carry on doing different stuff. Because I know there is internet and it is not going to finish. But if I have less internet, I know I have homework (and) I would spend my internet on the homework (13 years old female child, family 2).

One child stated that she would be using her mum's phone without her permission and she would like to stop doing that:

Sometimes my mum is not looking, I take her phone sneakingly and I watch some stuff and play games. I want to stop doing that (11 years old female child, family 3).

A couple of children, who didn't report having problematic level of use, didn't express any wish for changing their current use while a teenager, who shared feeling content about his current smartphone use, expressed:

Right now, I feel like I am using it better than I ever was. Obviously, it could be better but right now I am fine with it (16 years old male child, family 7).

As it can be seen, children commonly expressed a wish to reduce their smartphone use. Similar to the children, the majority of parents reported that they would like their children's smartphone use to be different to their current use. A mother, who expressed concerns about her son's lack of movement due to his level of smartphone and iPad use, shared:

I really wouldn't want him to use the smartphone or iPad (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

Another parent expressed:

I would like her (referring to her 17 years old daughter) to spend her time with her family, on her education and personal development rather than on the smartphone (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

Echoing similar views, another mother expressed:

I don't want her (referring to her 13 years old daughter) to use it as soon as she comes home. I would like her to keep herself busy with other stuff. She could probably be a bit more balanced and more conscious of what she is watching (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

Sharing her concerns about her daughter's browsing experiences and her potential access to harmful sites, one parent shared:

Of course, I would like to (in response to whether she would like her daughter's smartphone use to be any different to her current use). I wouldn't want her to visit a lot of websites. Ok, she can play every now and then, but I wouldn't want her to visit a lot of sites. It is likely that she may be visiting sites that I don't know about. E. Do you feel worried? Yes I do. Because, I wonder whether she visits harmful sites and then deletes the search history. We worry a lot about this (Mother to 3 children, family 13).

Another parent shared how she would like her son to be more balanced with his use to allow him to do other things and interact with his family:

I would like him to do his homework when it is homework time, if we are sitting and conversing I would like him to sit with us. I just don't want him to be always busy on the phone. My other son also uses his smartphone but our older one doesn't listen to us, he is very aggressive (Mother to 3 children, family 8).

Discussing how he feels children should have the opportunity to experience the use of phones, a father shared that he wouldn't want his children to spend too much time on smartphones:

I don't feel there is much (benefits) that children could get out of smartphones, because the games they play I don't feel are beneficial. I think if it is used in a balanced way, they are able to do their homework and can do other stuff. I feel they should have the opportunity to play on the phone and get over their enthusiasm, but they shouldn't spend too much on it and that's what we are trying to do (Father to 4 children, family 3).

A couple of parents expressed that they wouldn't want their children to have smartphones at all:

I wouldn't want the children to have smartphones until they reach the age of maturity. Unless they are away from the family, I think it is unnecessary for them to have it until the age of 17-18 (Father to 4 children, family 1).

If possible, I would like him (referring to her 9 year old son) not to have a smartphone at all. During the week, I don't want them to have their smartphones at all, but I don't want to cut him off completely because unfortunately they are indispensable in this age. Therefore, sometimes I sit down with him watching football videos on YouTube. When I don't let him go on the phone, he is like "You are too strict". I don't want him to get too distant from me (Mother to 2 children, family 10).

Other parents expressed:

I would like them to read more books, instead of watching films. I would like them to read books. Because I feel books and films are the same thing, but I think kids prefer the easy options (Mother to 3 children, family 2).

Of course, I would like my daughter's smartphone-use to be different. I think an hour or half an hour is enough for her. I don't want her to spend time on sites like TikTok. I would like us to do the activities together like reading books, reading Quran (Mother to 3 children, family 14).

A couple of parents didn't feel their children's smartphone use was at a level or of a pattern that they would want to change.

I don't see his use as problematic (Mother to 3 children, family 7).

He has a smartphone but he doesn't use it that much. He uses his computer more
(Mother to 2 children, family 9).

Overall, the majority of children reported a common wish for spending less time on their smartphones and instead allocating their time for other things such as learning. This was echoed by parents who expressed a wish for their children to allocate more time for their learning but also for family time. Paradoxically, children, who reported high use and expressed discontent about this, openly talked about their struggle of controlling or limiting their use, which further increases the importance of parental guidance when it comes to children's screen time. However, as it will be seen in the next section, parents' discontent about their own use and their struggle to regulate their own use indicates that children are very much left to their own devices when it comes to their relationship with various media.

Parents' Smartphone Use

Similar to the children, developing an understanding of parents' smartphone use was considered to be relevant to the main topic of this research. Therefore, before exploring parents' views and feelings in relation to how the integration and the use of smartphones were impacting on their relationship with their children, an understanding of their pattern of use and their views/feelings in this respect were sought. The type and the level of use were again significantly related to parental content and discontent about their smartphone use.

Pattern of Parents' Smartphone Use

Parents reported using their smartphones mainly for communication, accessing information, social media and social messaging, and entertainment. All parents reported using their smartphones primarily for communication. This was followed by accessing information, which was another area of use reported by the majority of parents. Accessing information included reading news (most-cited), searching for information, looking at recipes, listening to religious speeches and searching for things. Accessing social media apps was the third most cited area of use by parents. Instagram and Facebook were the only two reported apps by parents during the interviews with Instagram being the most cited. Few parents reported using both apps whilst some cited only one of those apps.

Using social messaging apps was the fourth most cited area of use with WhatsApp (most-cited) and FaceTime being the only apps cited by the parents. Finally, a couple of parents reported using their smartphones for entertainment, such as watching cooking programmes. More detailed information on individual parents' smartphone use habits is presented below in Table 3.

Table 3: Patterns of Parents' Smartphone Use

		Main Area of Reported Use
Family 1 - Father		* Communication - For speaking to family members * Information - Reading news
Family 2	Mother	* Communication -Mainly for communication * Information - For accessing information
	Father	* Information - Mostly for reading news about Turkey * Social media - Looks at Facebook quite a lot * Other - For taking notes
Family 3 - Father		* Communication - Mainly for communication * Information - For reading news, mainly about Turkey
Family 4 - Mother		* Communication - Mainly for communication, keeping in contact with the children on their way to and from school, checking emails, messages and appointments from children's schools * Shopping - Ordering things online * Entertainment - Watching stuff * Social media - Instagram - follows other child-minders to learn from their experiences
Family 5 - Mother		* Communication * Social media - Instagram * Information - Looking at recipes * Entertainment - Watching cooking programmes
Family 6 - Mother		* Communication - For communication, making calls - uses WhatsApp mainly for this * Information - Looks at the news quite a lot, also follows magazine news * Social media - Instagram, Facebook
Family 7 - Mother		* Information - For accessing information, listening to religious speeches * Communication - For keeping in contact with her children
Family 8 - Mother		* Communication - For communication, talking to people on WhatsApp * Social media - Instagram, Facebook
Family 9 - Mother		* Communication - Mostly for calling family in Turkey * Social media - Facebook and Instagram * Information - Researching information in relation to child development

Family 10 - Mother	<p>*Information - Mostly for reading news, looking up information</p> <p>*Communication</p>
Family 11 - Mother	<p>*Communication - For keeping in contact with her husband and family members in Turkey</p> <p>*Social media - For using Facebook</p>
Family 12 - Mother	<p>*Communication - For communication, talking to family - WhatsApp</p>
Family 13 - Mother	<p>*Communication</p> <p>*Social media - Instagram</p> <p>*Social messaging app - WhatsApp</p> <p>*Entertainment - Watching cooking programmes</p>
Family 14 - Mother	<p>*Information - Searching for things</p> <p>*Communication</p> <p>*Social media - Instagram, Facebook</p> <p>*Social messaging app - WhatsApp</p>

Parents and Children's Views and Feelings about Parental Smartphone Use

Parents' views and feelings in relation to their own smartphone use habits showed a lot of resemblance to children's views and feelings in relation to their own use habits. As it will be seen from parents' quotes, overall there was a common discontent amongst parents about their smartphone use habits. Several parents expressed strong dissatisfaction about their smartphone use, describing it as "addictive" and "a waste of time". Reflecting this, one parent reported:

I would like to get rid of smartphones and use the phone just for communication and use the computer to check my emails. I don't want to keep the smartphone in my hand. E. What leads you to feel like this? (Mum) It really disturbs me, I am sick of looking at the phone, it is addictive. I am always looking at the phone. I don't have a watch. The beep noise is annoying; I get really annoyed. Also, when I see the children on the phone I feel really bad, I just feel we need to find a way to remove the phones from our lives. I am like if I am going to take a radical decision I need to start from myself (Mother of 3 children, family 4).

Sharing how smartphones "form a habit" and how the social pressures make her regularly check her phone, this parent added:

It forms a habit. Because, I feel like I need to keep checking my phone [...] If it has been in my pocket for a long time, I am like could someone have called? Are there new messages? Have I had any miscalls? I feel like the need to check and if you don't answer someone, they get cross and they are like, "Why are you carrying the phone then?" telling you off.

A couple of other parents pointed out that they feel they need to have their smartphones on them in case they get calls.

I feel I need to have it on me in case my son or my husband calls (Mother to 3 children, family 7).

There is that curiosity like would someone call, would the kids call from school? (Mother to 3 children, family 8).

Talking about similar experiences, another parent shared:

When I forget my phone at home, it is as if like, I have forgotten something really important or even if it is upstairs, I tend to go and have it on me or next to me. I feel it is addictive. It is not good, it is a bad addiction [...] Even with us we are feeling the addiction. Sometimes I get messages and I am like, “I am not going to look at it”, but I feel curious about what it might be and then can’t help but look at it. If we use it in a good way, it can be very helpful but I feel we need to develop our awareness in this respect, especially Turkish-speaking community. E. You talked about being happier with your smartphone use initially? Yes, after new apps such as Instagram, Snapchat emerged it feels like they are directing us against our will, it is like we are not in control of our lives and our lives are being directed by social media and other technological developments. I feel like we need to put this right (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

This mother expressed how discontent she feels about her use and how “guilty” she feels due to her immersion into her smartphone:

Bad, I feel bad. The time that I can allocate to my children, for example, when my children are at school after finishing my work I can allocate the remaining time to my children but sometimes I feel so immersed in my smartphone, I feel guilty (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

In responding to the question as to how she feels about her smartphone use, another parent echoed similar sentiments:

Not good at all. Because, instead of doing the more important things that I need to do, I feel I am addicted to the smartphone. For example, I have my book which I need to read but I don’t read. I am not tempted to read; the smartphone is more tempting. Also, for example I am taking Quran lessons and instead of practicing my Quran reading skills, I spend most of my time on the phone. E. Are there any other areas that you feel your smartphone use holds you back? (Mum) From paying attention to my children. E. Can you tell me more about this? (Mum) For example, I don’t allocate time to them and I don’t do activities with them. For example,

reading a book, supporting them with their homework. It is like I do what I feel I like to do and they do what they feel they like to do. And I am not happy about this. I feel remorse, most of the time I am like why I am like this, this is not good for my children's learning and development but I feel like I am addicted to it (Mother to 3 children, family 14).

A couple of parents expressed how the absence of smartphones leads to a feeling of "vacuum" for them. In response to how she feels when she is not able to use her smartphone or when she is without her smartphone, one parent said:

If I am without the phone, I feel like being in a vacuum (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

Echoing similar experiences another mother shared:

I feel like a big part of me is missing (Mother to 2 children, family 9).

Similarly, a father, who likened being without the phone to "feeling like a part of his body was missing", shared how he feels strongly uncomfortable with his use while at the same time expressing his struggle to control use:

I don't feel comfortable, I have to say. Sometimes I am like I need to sort this out (referring to his smartphone use). I think to myself just pretend this (smartphone) doesn't exist in your life but I am not able to get too far and after a day I am back in the same cycle and spend a lot of time (on the smartphone) (Father to 3 children, family 2).

I am aware that I am wasting some really crucial time of my life with the smartphone. I want it (his use to be different) but I feel like I am enslaved by it and I can't change it. I feel like I have accepted this but I don't want this for my children (Father to 3 children, family 2).

Echoing similar experiences, this father's spouse shared how they would sometimes struggle to control their use which she described as a "waste of time":

Sometimes unavoidably there is waste of time, sometimes you get stuck with unnecessary information without realizing it. You later realise that you have spent time on the phone. However much we try to control our use, we are human beings in the end we can't control it (Mother to 3 children, family 2).

Another parent expressed mixed feelings about her smartphone use:

The good part is that you get to speak with Turkey (family members in Turkey) but this Instagram etc. have caused addiction and we can't help but log in to see

what's happening, who is doing what, we post stuff, similarly Facebook (Mother to 3 children, family 8).

Sharing similar sentiments, one other parent expressed:

It is very helpful. But, I feel like we tend to spend most of our free time on smartphones, unfortunately, on social media apps like Facebook, Instagram. So, in a way smartphones are really good but in another way they are really bad. I feel it takes too much of our time unnecessarily but it has become a habit (Mother to 2 children, family 9).

This parent further shared:

I feel we make lots of mistakes and go on our smartphones a lot, or we leave the smartphone to spend some time with the children but a bit later the kids get bored and so do we and then we go on our smartphones again.

Few parents felt their use was balanced and responsible, whilst one parent referred to social pressure which led him to purchase a smartphone. Two of these parents were the most advanced in their ages with a primary school education background whilst one of them was a university graduate.

I feel it is balanced [...] In fact, up until a couple of years ago I only had a basic phone for making calls. When I was travelling to Turkey I was trying to switch off the phone and there was a teacher sitting next to me and she was like, "Are you still using that phone?" I was like, "I don't really need the phone that much because we have the landline at home and at work", however a couple of years later unavoidably I joined those who have smartphones (Father to 4 children, family 3).

I use it more for accessing information, or I listen to religious speech. I don't use it for anything unnecessary. I would be calling my kids to find out where they are (Mother to 3 children, family 7).

I don't feel I am affected by it that much because I don't use it a lot. I don't feel it affects me, also I am not someone who uses the smartphone a lot for communication, I answer calls if I get them if I don't, I don't make calls a lot (Mother to 2 children, family 10).

On the other hand, parents expressed mixed feelings in relation to the impact of their smartphone use on their lives. Some talked about how they feel carried along by their use whilst also talking about how they are experiencing change of habits. Reflecting this, one

parent talked about how she feels dragged by her smartphone use, which has led her to discontinue her reading habit and to stay behind her work:

I feel I am staying behind the work that I need to do. For example, sometimes I am like, “Let me have a look at the news for 5 minutes”, but I then realise I have spent 45 minutes or an hour looking at the news. So, it is a waste of time because the stuff that I need to do remains undone. With social media you again are curious to find out what this or that person has said or posted, so it is really a waste of time. I have decided that I will delete certain things like Instagram from my phone. E. Do you experience any other impacts? Before having a smartphone, I used to read every night before going to sleep but recently, roughly in the last two years, I have not been able to finish one book. Now, instead of reading a book I am more tempted to go on my smartphone. Last month, I bought Sudoku and it is next to my bed. I also have downloaded it (Sudoku) on my phone so that I am not diverted to look at other stuff (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

Another mother echoed a similar experience. Talking about how one quick look at a message would be enough for her to be distracted and get immersed into her phone, she said:

For two months now, I have not been getting alerts from WhatsApp. I only see them if I look at my phone. When I was getting alerts, I was looking at the messages but then I found myself browsing other things like news. Therefore, like if I had something that I need to do, I would forget to do that because I would be looking at a message for a second but then I will realise that I have been busy on the phone for 20 minutes (Mother to 3 children, family 2).

One father shared how in search of work materials, he can spend a lot of time on his phone and how at times he feels uncomfortable about this:

Of course, from time to time I feel uncomfortable. For example, sometimes I need to buy things from eBay when I am not able to find the material I need. I end up browsing for a long time, this affects my eyes and takes my time. Sometimes instead of searching for stuff on my phone, I am just like I should just go to the shops and buy from there but in order not to pay more I always have to look at the phone for the items I need for my work. Of course this bothers me. Otherwise, I don't spend too much time on my phone. I use it for buying items and communication (Father to 4 children, family 1).

This father further shared:

I don't feel its effects that much. It doesn't manage me, I manage it. If I need it, I use it. If not, it is in my pocket or on the side. I only use it when I need it, it is not like I am always looking at the news, WhatsApp or Facebook. I have closed my Facebook account because too many people are sharing too many useless things. Therefore, I have closed it and I am not using it. I only have WhatsApp for communication. We also use FaceTime for communication every now and then (Father to 4 children, family 1).

A mother, who talked about how conscious she is about her smartphone use, shared she will refrain from downloading or using social media platforms:

I am not highly addicted to the phone. I don't have it in my hand a lot but if I was to, it would affect me too. I am trying to control it as much as possible and I try not to download stuff that will waste my time. Because, I feel if I download them I won't be able to control myself. Therefore, I try to stay away from things like Facebook and Instagram. Even WhatsApp on its own is sufficient for someone to waste time (Mother to 3 children, family 2).

Whilst the above quotes indicate that smartphones can be a cause of negative distraction for parents, a couple of parents talked about how smartphones can feel therapeutic in the moment and serve as a means to relax or escape from things:

Sometimes it can feel therapeutic, relieving from work pressure. Sometimes I look for an escape from work and that's how I get to look at it. However, sometimes after having spent time on the phone, I am like that was of no use. It gives a feeling of "relief" at that moment, but I also feel discontent because of the time I then would have spent on my smartphone (Father to 3 children, family 2).

I don't want to go on the phone until they (children) go to bed because I think this will negatively affect them but sometimes I do go on it after I pick them up from school or when the children I look after go back. Perhaps, I see it as a way of relaxing, having a bit of downtime (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

As it can be seen from the majority of the quotes, the majority of parents expressed discontent with their experiences of smartphone use. In particular, social media use was associated with negative use whilst the use for communication and accessing information was associated with positive use. Several parents reported feeling addicted to their smartphone whilst expressing feelings of "experiencing vacuum" or "something missing from their lives" when they are without their smartphones.

A few parents reflected how they are meant to be role modelling appropriate smartphone use for their children and expressed how they feel “bad” and “tongue-tied” at their children’s reaction with regards to their own use. To reflect this, one parent shared:

Children are probably not feeling good about it. There have been times my daughter would say, “Mum can you come off the phone!”, she is more aware. E. How does that make you feel? I feel bad. I am like I am their role model. Because whatever I do now, when they grow up they will do the same thing. I am worried that I am not being a good role model for them (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

This mother further shared:

With my son, I remember him saying “Oh my God!” he was like “Mum you are telling us but...!” He told me, “Such a hypocrite!” (Chuckles) E. How did that make you feel? I felt bad. Because, I am telling my child not to go on the phone but I am doing the opposite. I do tell them that they are right but at those moments I will be looking at my emails or the messages from school.

Sharing how she gets tongue-tied when her child challenges her about her own smartphone use, a mother expressed:

Parents are role models for their children. When I tell my child to get off the phone and my child says, “But you have your smartphone in your hand!”, I get tongue-tied [...] I feel really guilty because I am their closest role model (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

Sharing similar experiences, a mother who reported high level of self-use, voiced:

They are like, “You are telling us don’t go on your phone too much but you never drop the phone, why are you using it, you shouldn’t use it either if you are telling us not to use it” (Mother to 3 children, family 14).

This parent further shared:

I feel like I judge and blame my daughter before first reflecting on my own smartphone use. I feel I am blaming my daughter when I should do something about my mistakes. I am aware I am the one to blame. I think I am the one who has led to her smartphone issues. I am not doing anything or can’t do anything and thus, I feel I am blaming her. I would be like, “Come off that phone, it is enough, I am going to break it” and I have broken it several times before.

This mother, who said that her son (15 years old) has reacted to her own use, saying that he has told her that she is “always on her phone” and she should spend time with her children, said how her daughter has also moaned about her use as follows:

In particular, my daughter (12 years old) would be like “Mum, you don’t take us anywhere, like cinema or out and about- we are always home, you are on your phone”. So, there are lots of reactions from the children. E. How does this make you feel? (Mum) Bad, very bad, I feel guilty. When I go to bed, I feel really bad and guilty thinking I did nothing all day and spent my whole day idly on that phone (Mother to 3 children, family 14).

Another parent, who shared how her children are alert about her use and how they would challenge her when she looks at her phone, said:

Of course, they get cross [...] They sometimes say, “Why are you on your smartphone?”, “Why are you looking at it?” I don't feel they need it because for example, I will need to look at a recipe when cooking, they may feel this is unnecessary but this is something I need. Or, if I need to complete an assignment I will use my smartphone. However, when I am using my smartphone for these purposes they feel I am using it for unnecessary things like they are doing. They would play games or watch films when I allow them. I try not to allow them that much but when I don't, I am their target (Mother to 3 children, family 2).

These parents were reflective of how their use can be role-modelling their children’s smartphone use whilst also showing awareness that if their use is problematic, this would limit their influence on their children’s problematic use. Below quotes from some of the young people indicate the significance of role-modelling behaviour. One young person, who talked about how she would criticise her parents, especially her dad, about their excessive smartphone use, shared:

Usually it is me telling them off. E. Telling them off? (Child) Yeah and my little brother changes his iPad password quite frequently so my dad doesn’t use it but he usually convinces my brother with money, like he goes like I will give you like £10 and then he sends my brother to shops and he just has the iPad for the rest of the day. E. What sort of game does dad play on it? (Child) PUBG E. He seems to be addicted to it? (Child) Literally. I used to play it, but then he told me not to play it and then now he plays it. E. How does that make you feel? (Child) It is quite hypocritical of them, it’s weird because they are telling me not to do it but they do it themselves, so it’s just weird (15 years old female child, family 5).

In response to how she would feel when her mum yells at her due to her level of smartphone use, this young person said:

It is upsetting. Because I know I don't use my phone as much as she does but she doesn't realise it because she is always on her phone as well, like she will tell me off for using my phone but she does the same thing as well.

This young person's sibling talked about how his smartphone use would be a source of conflict between him and his parents:

They think I am like, they think I'm so addicted to it, like I can't let it go for one minute or two minutes. E. How do you feel about that? (Child) Because they use it more than me and whenever they leave and I go on my phone for like two minutes to text someone, they start getting mad at me, (and they will be like) "Oh you can't leave your phone for a second". E. How does that make you feel? (Child) They make me feel mad because they use it more than me and when they tell me, "Oh you have been on your phone for way too long", I get mad and I just storm upstairs because they use their phone more than me (10 years old male child, family 5).

Sharing how they feel motivated by their parents' non-excessive use, a couple of young people shared:

My dad doesn't go on it that much, even less than mum, because he doesn't really like going on the phone, he doesn't really like phones. He just uses it to call people. E. What does mum usually use the phone for? (Child) Checking her messages and mostly for calling people and listening to religious speeches, mum says the speeches help her to learn more about Islam E. How does it make you feel that your dad and mum are not using it that much? (Child) it feels like I shouldn't be using that much either (11 years old female child, family 3).

I wanna be more like her (referring to his mother). Because like she doesn't use it as much, she only uses it when she needs to or when she needs to message or call her friends or our family E. And you want to be more like her? (Child) Yeah, more like her. Sometimes I am bored and I will use my phone because I am bored but when she is bored she is, like, productive doing things in the house. E. How about dad's use? (Child) My dad is the same as well. He will do it for work if he needs to do work or if he needs to send emails or speak to family in London or outside of London in Turkey (16 years old male child, family 7).

Parents are children's primary role models when it comes to their learning and how they go about different things in their lives. As it can be seen from the above quotes, the nature

of parental smartphone use can be both a motivating factor in helping children to manage their own use whilst also a potential source of conflict especially when children feel their parents' pattern of use is no different to their own use.

Common wish for different and less use

Similar to the children, the majority of parents also reported that they would like their own smartphone use to be different. In most cases, parents felt they would like to lessen their use. Reflecting this, a couple of parents said:

I would like to use it less. I thought about deleting Instagram once, it is a bad thing (Mother to 3 children, family 8).

Yeah, I would want to use it less (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

Parents mostly referred to social media when expressing their discontent about their use, which they described as a “waste of time”. They expressed a desire in wanting to change this and be more available for their children instead:

Yes, I wish I never had Facebook and Instagram. I say that but Facebook has some nice sides to it, you get informed about things. Apart from that if used for good things, it is good (Mother to two children, family 9).

Of course I would like to (in response to whether she would like her current smartphone use to be any different). I want to stay away from it and spend time with my children, do my Quran practice. I am not happy about my current use and would like to not use it unless I really need it (Mother to 3 children, family 14).

A mother commented:

I don't use it frequently but it would be better if I could further reduce my use a bit more. With the groups (WhatsApp), there is waste of time because unavoidably you look at them, people's status etc., but I feel this is not necessary as it doesn't have any contribution for me or the person I am looking at. If I was using that time to support my children with their learning it would be better but still unavoidably when I see it, curiosity takes over and I look at it. I have thought about completely deleting my WhatsApp groups but they are also necessary (Mother to 3 children, family 2).

Another mother expressed that she would like to use it only on a need to use basis:

I would like to use it only on a need to use basis, not on social media. Smartphones are a good thing but as long as it is used responsibly. For example, out of the 100 people around me I think 98 people don't use it responsibly (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

A couple of parents talked about how they would like to use their smartphones just for calling and other useful things:

I don't want to use the smartphone. About a month ago, I realised that I need to get rid of it, either to leave the phone at home or use it only during certain period of the evening when the children have gone to sleep just for one hour. I had made such a decision but I don't know when I will be implementing it. Instead I would like to use a phone only for calling and messaging (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

I wouldn't want to have a smartphone. Old brick phones were better, the ones without the internet that we were using only for calling. I would want to have them. E. What makes you say this? Because, I feel smartphones have more harmful characteristics than benefits (Mother to 3 children, family 13).

Another parent, who felt being taken captive by his smartphone use, shared:

I would like to use the phone solely for calling and things that are making my life easier. That would be great! E. How about Facebook and news? I wouldn't want to (use them) (Father to 3 children, family 2).

Several children reported that they would like their parents' smartphone-use to be different to their current use. Reflecting this, a young person shared:

She is always on the phone speaking to someone. So I wouldn't want that even though she says I do that a lot but she does even more than me. E. Any other areas you would like your mum's smartphone use to be different? Probably, when she is at the table (dinner table) as well. I wouldn't want her to use her phone at the table (15 years old female child, family 5).

Another young person said she would like her dad to talk to her more instead of spending long hours talking to other people whilst expressing that her mother could allocate time slots for them to chat:

I would (in response to whether she would like her parents' smartphone use to be different), but I don't think it will make a difference because he works 7 days a week, like, always 24/7. So, even if he did stop going on his smartphone he would still be going to work and if I take away the time he goes on his phone then that means I take away the amount of money he earns. So, I wouldn't take away the

amount of time he goes on his phone but I would want him to think about it more and not spend too much time calling someone and talking to someone, so just like get to the point, tell me what's wrong and then (he should) talk to me (referring to herself) afterwards E. How about your mum's? Like, if we are talking I would want her to, like, if I am trying to talk to her I would want her to, like, not go on the phone, and I know she has been working all day and she wants to just relax on her phone but then I have been, like, I have been studying, revising and I want to talk to her but she wants to go on her phone. So, maybe 5, 10 minutes she can arrange to talk and not like eat food or go on her phone or tell me to tidy up this place because whenever I go downstairs, she is like oh clean the floors, clean that, clean that (13 years old female child, family 4).

Talking about how she prefers her mother's use, a 13 years old shared that she feels her dad spends too much time on the phone, expressing that he should reduce this to spend more time with them:

I like how my mum uses it because I prefer her one over my dad's one. Because my dad actually uses it a lot, he listens to the news, he watches the news, he reads the news, he talks to his friends (and) he calls his friends. I think it is too much, like he should spend time with us at home instead of the phone (13 years old female child, family 2).

Another young person said that he would want his parents to lower their smartphone use:

Yes, I would like it to be lower. I don't mind them using their phone near me or around me. But, I think they should lower the hours, use it for less time (15 years old male child, family 1).

Sharing how he struggles to understand why his mother would use social media, just like her struggle to understand why he plays games, a teenager shared:

If my mum understood, like, going on Instagram and swiping down and double tapping the messages, just going on Instagram is not good. I don't get it, like them not getting why I play games (14 years old male child, family 4).

At the same time, several children reported that their parents don't use their smartphones a lot, as such, they didn't express a wish for their use to be different:

They (referring to her parents) don't really use their smartphones that much. I mean my mum is always working around the house, cleaning, cooking. My dad, he comes home from work, he just sits down and watches TV but he just sometimes goes on his phone to call my grandparents and to call our family, that's what they normally do (11 years old female child, family 13).

They don't use it much anyway because my dad goes to work and my mum makes the food and is always distracted with going shopping (10 years old female child, family 8).

She doesn't really use it a lot. She only uses it to look at the news or just like to talk to some like relatives but she doesn't go on it too much. It is usually me and my brother who only uses it for games, but she doesn't use it too much (12 years old female child, family 10).

I don't really mind. She usually goes on her smartphone when something interesting is happening. And when my dad goes on the smartphone, he goes on it whenever I open something that interests us both (12 years old male child, family 9).

I don't really mind about my parents' smartphone use because they don't really use it. They just use it for checking stuff if there is anything (12 years old male child, family 11).

My mum and dad, they don't really use it much. They just use it for calling and looking at the messages (9 years old female child, family 3).

My mum actually uses it beneficially, like she uses it the way we are supposed to. Like she researches stuff, she learns stuff, she uses it for good purposes (13 years old female child, family 2).

As illustrated, children expressed mixed views in relation to their parents' smartphone use. Interestingly, the number of children who reported that they would like their parents' smartphone-use to be different and/or lower were less than the number of parents who wanted this. Also, young people who experienced issues with their own smartphone tended to want their parents' smartphone use to be lower as well.

In the next section data in relation to smartphone use and its implications for parent-child relationship will be illustrated.

Smartphones, Parent-Child and Family Relationships

This section focuses on the interview data regarding parent-child and family relationships. To elaborate on this, the interview data are presented under the themes "parent-child and family time", "parent-child communication", "relationship difficulties" and "parenting". Evidently, all these themes are inextricably intertwined, as such, the

interview data under each theme has direct relevance to other themes and may therefore read partly as overlapping. Nevertheless, the focus of each theme is different. The theme “parent-child and family time” illustrates parents’ and children’s views and feelings on how the integration and use of smartphones impact on their experiences of togetherness and joint family activities. The theme “parent-child communication” focuses on parents’ and children’s views on how their communication opportunities and the quality of their interaction is affected by the immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones. The theme “relationship difficulties” focuses on interview data which elaborates on how the immersion into and high level of smartphone use result in difficult and upset feelings and how these subsequently cause relationship difficulties between parents and children. Finally, the theme “parenting” focuses on interview data which sets out how immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones impacts parenting quality.

Parent-child and Family Time

Both parents and children reported that with the integration of smartphones into their lives, there was interference with their daily experiences of sharing, sitting together, sharing the same space (e.g. the living room, dinner table) and having conversations, whilst parents particularly expressed that the family relationships were “no longer the same”. For them, all these experiences were generating feelings of “separation”, “disconnection”, “divide” and “feeling cut from each other”. Talking about this, a mother shared:

Family relationships are no longer as they used to be. We are people who grew up in one room, we had one television, (and) we used to have such nice conversations, plays, chats. We no longer have them. This is sad, there is no sharing. Even when you go somewhere or on your way to somewhere people don’t talk to each other (as a consequence of being occupied with their smartphones). This is not nice and is one of the worst results of technology (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

Linking her positive family experiences with “nice conversations, plays and chats”, this mother expressed regret that those experiences are no longer lived and there isn’t as much sharing as before. She further talked about the reality of how almost every family member have smartphones or other personable devices and how this has led to a lack of sharing and communication:

For example, last week we were all sitting in the living room. I had my smartphone

in my hand, my 17 years old daughter had her own smartphone, my husband had his one, my son had his own smartphone and my younger son was busy on his iPad and there was no communication between us. When I noticed, I told my husband “Can you see, we are not talking with each other?”. I then collected all the smartphones and put them on the armchair and told everyone that “we are going to watch a film together”. I got corn popped and an hour later my son (10 years old) disappeared and the first thing I looked at was the smartphone. He had taken the smartphone and left! I was really upset by this because he has become so addicted to the smartphone and it felt like even when he was watching the movie he had his mind completely on the smartphone.

According to this mother, there has been a big shift in their family relationships and family experiences as a result of the integration of smartphones into their lives. For her, watching a movie together with her family members was preferable as this meant there was still sharing of the same space and the activity which is undermined by individual devices. Talking further about her experiences, this mother shared:

Even when we need to talk about something, we all have a smartphone in our hand and this really damages family relationships.

Sharing how her, her husband’s and their children’s smartphone use had reached a point whereby their communication as a family was diminishing, she talked about how she started to make an active effort to address this in order to promote family time and interaction between the family members.

Now, I switch the TV off and ask that we put the phones away to have a morning catch-up. Initially, the kids, even my husband, were mocking me and said “Come on kids, your mum wants us to converse, let’s have conversations” but with time they got used to it. And you start to have conversations whereby the child is telling something to his dad, you tell something to your child (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

Echoing similar feelings, another mother expressed:

Before the smartphone, we were sitting together around the table or in the living room more. With smartphones, everyone is on the internet by themselves (Mother to 3 children, family 7).

According to this mother, with the integration of smartphones into their lives there has been more disengagement between the family members and there are fewer joint

activities whilst the function of certain spaces such as the living room and the dinner table has experienced changes. Further reflecting on this experience, a different mother shared:

The kids won't come and sit down with us, they would be in their rooms playing on their phone. E. How do you feel about this? I am not happy (Mother to 3 children, family 8).

Speaking in a disapproving tone of the above experience and expressing her discontent about it, this mother talked about how with the opportunity of playing games on their smartphones, her children would retreat to their rooms and wouldn't sit with them. This perhaps points out to the two significant characteristics of smartphones and how those characteristics are having implications for family life. First, as a result of their personable and portable nature, smartphones are promoting individual access. Second, with their portable nature and their connectivity to the internet, smartphones are facilitating this individual access to happen anywhere. This has been leading to children spending more time in their rooms by themselves, leading to reduced opportunities for children and parents being exposed to interactions. Elaborating on this experience, a father stressed:

Kids are immersed in their phones. There is nothing such as "Oh, I have a family, let me sit with them and spend some time with them". Kids are keeping themselves to themselves. They are by themselves, they enter into their friends' world and lead a life through their phone. There is no family life. We haven't got any proper communication with the kids as they constantly mingle with their phones. Since they are busy on their phones, there isn't much interest in parents. Friends come first anyway, they chat or do other stuff (Father to 4 children, family 1).

This father talked about how his children's immersion into their smartphones affected their family experiences, such as sitting together, spending time together and having conversations. Besides, he points out how his children will be disconnected from them as a result of their immersion into their phones. Talking further about their home experiences, he shared:

Of course, when they don't mingle with their phone, you can talk to them about things, you can share things, but when there is the phone it cuts everything out (Father to 4 children, family 1).

More than the smartphones or alongside the smartphones, television is taking a lot of children's time. We have become a house of cartoons, we watch cartoons quite

a lot. So, the time goes between the smartphones and the television. Just like in the old days you are not able to have a good conversation or talk about religion or tell a story. These are all things of the past, you are able to do these things once in a blue moon (Father to 4 children, family 1).

For this father, activities such as having a good conversation, talking about religion or telling a story were mostly things of the past now as a result of the amount of time spent on smartphones and watching television. Another father talked about how immersion into smartphones was leading to children not noticing their presence which he expressed causes an uncomfortable atmosphere:

Sometimes I see children being on the phone and they are completely unaware of their mother or father arriving (into the space they are in) E. How does this feel for you? Unavoidably, it leads to an uncomfortable atmosphere, because you can't say much because when they are busy on the phones, it is not possible for them to divert their attention. And this unavoidably damages values such as attention and respect (Father to 4 children, family 3).

According to this father, immersion into the smartphones led his children not to notice his presence which he felt wasn't creating a positive atmosphere. Talking about how with the integration of smartphones into their lives, they are experiencing changes in their family relationships, another parent said:

I feel like it is a device that separates the family. It is not like how it used to be. It is like when we get together we have a bit of conversation and then everyone has their phones in their hand and everyone is immersed into their phones. The child is the same, therefore, it has ruptured the family bond (Mother to 2 children, family 9).

According to this mother, immersion into smartphones leads to disengagement between family members whilst interfering with family activities. Her experience of smartphones appears to be one that is separating and rupturing the family bond, which was shared by another mother:

I feel our bond with our children is getting ruptured. Yes, it ruptures our bond with our children (Mother to 3 children, family 14).

Echoing similar experiences, another parent expressed:

I feel it gets between me and my children quite a lot for long hours (Father to

3 children, family 2).

This father expressed strong discontent about his above-reported experience whilst talking about how he struggles to control his own smartphone use. Similarly, other parents talked about how with the integration of smartphones, they feel their children are distancing and disconnecting from them, causing a decline in their relationship:

Of course, when they (referring to her children) spend too much time on their smartphones, you feel they are distancing from you. Especially, we do more stuff together when they don't use their smartphones or when they use their smartphones less. When there are no smartphones and you get to do things together and share, you feel more like a family or you feel more of a mother-child relationship. But, when this is interrupted by smartphones and you don't get to spend time with your children, you feel a sense of disconnection. Also, your influence on your child reduces. Like if you tell them to stop doing this or that, they won't listen (Mother to 2 children, family 10).

I feel smartphones are distancing us from each other. Because, when you lose yourself in the phone, you don't realise it but you don't communicate, you don't have conversations (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

If we are busy on our phones as parents, there isn't communication in the family. There is disconnection as there is no conversation. When we have the phones in our hands, there is no conversation (Mother to 3 children, family 13).

In terms of parent and child relationship, as long as we are occupied with smartphones, relationship reduces. We are unaware of each other and we lose communication at some point (Mother to 3 children, family 2).

When exploring what the words “smartphone”, “parents” and “children” meant for her, a mother responded:

Lack of communication or disconnection between parents and children. For example, you call them inside the house but they don't hear you, so you have to phone them to ask them to come down. E. Lack of communication or disconnection? Yes, for example, there isn't conversing within the home. For example, my husband comes home - there is a game called PUBG - he plays that game throughout the day (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

Children shared similar views and experiences. A teenager, who reported that his parents were spending quite a lot of time on their smartphones, shared his experiences as follows:

It feels they (referring to his parents) are separate like I said before because they are always on their phone. E. How does that make you feel? (Child) It makes me feel like there is no point of a family because family means like you should be together, like join together, talk, communicate, interact but there is no point of a family if they are just going to be sitting and not communicate with each other (15 years old male child, family 1).

When exploring whether there is a difference in his relationship with his parents when their smartphones is low or high, this young person further added:

I don't think there is much of a difference. Because, it is either they are on their phone or watching TV. So, if it is high there is no communication, we are separate, if it is low there is still no communication because they are watching TV.

For this teenager, his parents' high smartphone use and TV viewing meant they were separate and there was no communication. He described this experience as "not being together, not having conversations and interactions with one another", which he was strongly unhappy about. Another young person, who shared how her parents' increased use would make her feel "lonely", said:

Of course, like when they use it more, you are always lonely, you don't spend time with them [...] When everyone has a phone in their hand, it is just too dull. Everyone is like a "robot". But, then when there is no phone in no one's hand, it is so nice. Everyone is active, everyone is lovely and bubbly (13 years old female child, family 2).

"Everyone is like a robot" was this young person's description in explaining how it feels for her when everyone is busy on their phones whilst describing the opposite as family members being more active and animated. Echoing similar experiences, a different teenager talked about how occasions such as meal times are disrupted and interfered with by everyone being on their smartphones and iPads:

I wouldn't want him (referring to her dad) to use it (his smartphone) on the table. Because, literally you can't even focus on eating food because my little brother will be sitting down on his iPad, and my dad on his phone and my other brother will be on his one, my mum (on her one). So, it is just sound from everywhere so it is not a pleasant atmosphere to be in while eating food. For example, I will just walk inside like in the living room and he (referring to her dad) would be on the iPad like this, literally like a "robot". I wouldn't want him to do that all the time.

Of course, he can play on it, but I don't want him to be on it 24/7 when he is at home, because it is not nice (15 years old female child, family 5).

This young person talks about how even during mealtimes and times of sharing the same space, there is disengagement and disconnection between family members whilst talking about how digital devices would interfere with such experiences, which she described as unpleasant. Talking further about her experiences, this teenager reported:

So when he (referring to her dad) doesn't really use it (his smartphone), like we all just sit down and speak together usually. So there will be times just in the living room when they are having tea, we will speak altogether, like laugh. But, when he is on his phone, I am usually in my room, my brother is usually in his room, my other brother is playing PlayStation, and my mum is downstairs on her phone. That's literally it!

Interestingly, for this young person, it appeared that her father's immersion into his smartphone had implications for her and her brother's experiences whereby they will all retreat to their individual rooms and be on their individual devices whilst the opposite will lead to more family time, which she described as pleasant and interactive. Furthermore, this teenager talked about how there would be a marked difference in their ability to do things together when they have the internet connection and when they don't:

Well, we don't spend any quality time together, so that's not nice, like we hardly go out for example. In Turkey (when on holiday), we do go out a lot. Because we don't have internet there in our house. So people don't use their phones even though we have hotspots. We will always go out, but here, like we don't communicate, we don't have quality time or anything like that. I don't think they will realise if I was going missing!

Here, this young person makes specific references to the "connectivity" aspect of smartphones and the affordances that come with this connectivity. It appears that in her case, this seems to have a significant impact in terms of their ability to have quality time together and going out together. Her younger brother also talked about how he would withdraw to his room and go on his individual phone when his play with his dad would be interrupted by his dad's distraction by his smartphone:

Whenever, like, I am trying to play with him, like after 2 minutes he gets bored and he just goes on his phone. I get sad from that because that's when I try playing with him, so that's when I just stop. Because I know he is just going to go on his

phone E. What happens afterwards when you get sad and he goes on his phone?
(Child) I go upstairs and just go on my phone (10 years old male child, family 5).

In response to how he feels his relationship with his dad is affected by his smartphone use, this young person said:

That we get divided! My dad uses his phone a lot but it is only for his work. Like he gets calls from the customers for delivery. But, after that he just watches football on his phone.

Echoing her children's experiences, these children's mother reported:

He is not available for the children, he is always playing games. E. What happens when he plays like that, how do the children react? (Mum) They go to their own rooms. E. Are there times you react to his use? (Mum) Yes, for example, I will tell him I am going to take (our little daughter) out this morning and he will be like "You can't go" and I will be like "Why?" and he says "Because I want to spend time with her". I will be like "When we are home, you are on the phone the whole day and you wouldn't spend time with her" and I am like, "Now we are going out and you want to spend time with her!" (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

Talking about how her high smartphone use would lead to a decline in her conversations with her family and how she would retreat to her room, a different teenager shared.

When I use it a lot, I don't really (get to speak to them) and I am always on my bed (12 years old female child, family 14).

Another child shared that he would be gravitated towards other things when his mother is busy on her smartphone:

When she is using it, I feel a bit bored. So I just like open the TV and go on YouTube or do something with my brother or go outside at the back and play with my skateboard (10 years old male child, family 6).

For another young person having individual devices such as phones and laptops meant that they were getting separate and distant as siblings:

I have got my own laptop and my brother has got his own laptop, so we all have got laptops and that kinda like separates us I guess. Because we've all got at least two electronic devices, like I have got a laptop and a phone, my brother has got a laptop and a phone, my younger brother (has his one). So, everyone has their own electronic device and they always use that, not always,

but it is like everyone uses their own separate device and we kinda get distant I guess (13 years old female child, family 4).

According to this young person, having multiple personalised devices distances them as siblings as a result of individual time spent on personal devices. During the interviews, I explored with the young people what they make out of the words “smartphones”, “parents” and “children” and in responding to this, they made references to experiences and feelings such as “separation”, “lack of family time and communication”, “division” and “not connecting”:

Like the kids and parents get divided, like they hardly speak together (10 years old male child, family 5).

I think separation because when the parents and children are on the smartphones they don't talk to each other too much, they don't communicate, they are like separate (15 years old male child, family 1).

Young people, they don't spend enough time with their family and do like hobbies. Most of the time they spend on smartphones (15 years old male child, family 14).

Sometimes not connecting (10 years old female child, family 8).

Other young people shared different experiences in terms of their relationships with their family members:

Before (having a smartphone), I used to have more interaction with my grandparents. Because, I used to always go there with my uncles and my dad stuff like that and PlayStation was there as well. But now I barely visit. I still go every now and then, but I used to be there more often. I still see them, like before I used to go there, I used to sleep there like for 2-3 days. But now, I go there probably once or twice every week, maybe every two, three weeks depending (15 years old male child, family 14).

This young person didn't elaborate further on the reasons as to why there had been such a change in the pattern of his visits to his grandparents, however did express that this change coincided with him getting his smartphone. Talking about how her immersion into the smartphone would make her to become stubborn towards her parents and how this would consequently change the atmosphere in the home, a young person shared:

When that kind of stubbornness does occur, it actually changes the feeling of home. Like I don't really feel comfortable in the house (11 years old female

child, family 13).

On the other hand, both children and parents reported that low smartphone use or not being busy on the smartphones was resulting in experiences such as “sharing the same space within the home”, “more time spent together” and “a sense of togetherness”.

It feels (like) we are together because when we are on our phones, we feel separate and we are far away from each other. When we are not on our phones, we are together (15 years old male child, family 1).

So, when he doesn't really use it, like we all just sit down and speak together usually. So, there will be like times just in the living room when they (referring to her parents) are having tea, we will speak altogether, like laugh [...] It is nice, it is proper like having fun with your family and like communicating, so it is quite nice (15 years old female child, family 5).

When he (referring to her dad) is not on his phone or when his phone is somewhere else, it is not ringing or something, he has more time for me I guess, we do more stuff together (13 years old female child, family 4).

We removed my son's smartphone and then, he started to sit with us, he was doing his homework but since we have given it back to him, he has reverted to how he was (Mother to 3 children, family 8).

It is better, he (referring to her 10 years old son) plays with us, plays with his little sister (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

Of course, when she is not busy on her phone, we share a lot more, we talk. Sometimes I go into her room and tell her, “Come off the phone, let's have a chat”, she opens up to me about her emotions (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

When she is not busy on her phone, she wants to play with her dad, she comes and spends time with me (Mother to 3 children, family 13).

Well, when I didn't go on my phone a lot, I did, like, hang out with my brother a little bit more and helped him to do his homework (12 years old female child, family 14).

Looking at children's and parents' views, there appears to be a commonly shared view that with the integration of smartphones there is considerable interference with parent-child and family time in general. Both parents and children expressed negative feelings and discontent about this whilst reporting improved experiences of parent-child and

family time when there wasn't interference.

With the widespread prevalence and the availability of various social messaging and social media apps, distant communication and sharing has unprecedentedly become much easier and more frequent. This has meant that individuals are receiving more calls, more texts whilst they are continuously exposed to the various functions of smartphones or activities accessible via smartphones. Also, with the availability of multiple, portable digital devices in and outside of the homes, in particular smartphones, the control of time and space by internet and communication technologies in and out of the home is probably at a level we have never experienced before. This means that there is a significant increase in the everyday stimulants, which, as seen from parents' and children's quotes, has inevitable interferences and implications for parent-child time and experiences that promote family cohesion.

In the next section, the interview data illustrating how immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones affects parent-child communication opportunities and the quality of parent-child interaction are presented.

Parent-Child Communication

Both parents and children reported that immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones was negatively affecting the quality of their communication with each other as well as limiting their opportunities for meaningful interaction. They associated immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones with “non-active listening”, “not getting to talk” and “interruption with conversations” whilst reporting that this would lead to “frustration, anger and unhappy feelings”. Reflecting this, a teenager, who complained both about the level of her mum and her dad's use, shared:

Let's say, I ask him (referring to her dad) a question, he wouldn't reply to me even though he hears me. We would be like this (demonstrates how his dad would be unresponsive and immersed in his phone), he would be on his phone and I ask him a question and he wouldn't reply to me and if he replies, he replies 5 minutes later. E. How does that make you feel when he replies 5 minutes later? (Child) It is rude, so I get quite angry, I literally just walk out. E. Would you talk to him later? (Child) Yeah, but I would kinda like give a face E. How about your mum, what are the differences in your relationship with one another when her smartphone use is high

and low? (Child) Oh, the same thing. When she is on her smartphone as well, she is like cut from everyone else. So, she doesn't really hear me either (15 years old female child, family 5).

This young person reports how her father would be unresponsive due to being immersed in his phone whilst reporting that his responses will be significantly delayed. She talks about how as a result, she would get "quite angry" and then "walk out". She further shares that she would give her dad a face which indicates that there would be a bit of lingering impact on their relationship. She also associates similar issues with her mother's use. This teenager's younger brother reported that due to his father being constantly busy on his phone, he found it difficult to speak to his dad:

It is, like, hard to talk to each other because he is always on the phone (10 years old male child, family 5).

When exploring whether she would like her smartphone use to be different, this young person's mother shared:

Certainly, because it causes disconnection with your family and children one way or the other, it disrupts the communication (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

Echoing similar experiences, a teenager reported:

When he (referring to her dad) is on the phone, I can't talk to him that much. Umm, well, at all because of his phone. Calls are like very long, and then I get annoyed, and then it puts me in a bad mood (13 years old female child, family 4).

This teenager reports how her communication with her dad is affected by his long telephone conversations and how this makes her feel annoyed and puts her in a bad mood. Sharing similar experiences, another young person talked about how his communication with his dad gets affected by his dad's immersion into his smartphone:

When he is using it too much, then I try talking to him, but he will be too into the phone, so he won't listen to me (15 years old male child, family 1).

This teenager also shared:

When I had my phone, I used it a lot of the time. So I couldn't talk to my parents, I didn't have a good relationship with my family that much. I didn't like socialize with my friends in person. I was talking to them on the phone.

Talking about how the quality of communication with his children would be affected when he is busy on his smartphone, this young person's father said:

When you are asked something, you give half answers (Father to 4 children, family 1).

For this father, being busy on the smartphones was leading to reduced engagement, which was resulting in a lack of meaningful and active communication. Sharing how there would be a similar experience with his children when they are busy on their smartphones, he reported:

When they are into their phone, they half-answer your questions. They don't even reply to you properly (Father to 4 children, family 1).

Echoing similar experiences, a mother reported that due to her immersion into her smartphones she would only pay half-attention to her son:

Sometimes my son even asks me, "Mum did you understand what I said?", but because I am so immersed in the phone, I probably understand only half of what my son says. E. How does your son react in those situations? He is like, "Did you understand?", "Listen to me?", "Did you understand what I said?" and then I say, "Say again", telling him I wasn't paying full attention (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

In this mother's experience, being immersed into her phone was leading to non-active listening, which in return was resulting in reduced understanding. This appears to be making her son plead with her to listen to him and repeat himself. Another mother, who felt smartphones were distancing her from her children, reported:

When your child says something, you are like "Yes, yes" because you are lost in the phone as if it is very important. But, when you think about it, it is not important. But at that moment, you feel like you need to look at the phone. You don't think "Oh, I should drop the phone". But, when I realise what has happened, I feel bad E. You feel like you are not able to show attention to your children? Yes, because even if it is 2 or 5 minutes, they will be saying an important thing and they want to talk to you and you are like, "Ok, one second" but the child notices that you are not looking at them (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

This mother talks about how there will be non-attentive or non-active listening when she is lost in her phone. She elaborates on how her responses would be short in the form of

“Yes, yes”, which indicates that opportunities for meaningful and effective communications can be missed as a result of immersion. She further talks about how she would retrospectively feel bad as she feels opportunities for communication and interaction are lost. Echoing similar experiences, another mother shared:

Of course, when we have the phones in our hands, we lose our dialogue with our children. We don't listen to them, we don't understand what they are telling us, we respond by saying “Yes, yes!”, but in fact we haven't listened to them, we haven't understood what they were saying. We can be unaware of our children. E. How do your children react to moments like when you are like “Yes, yes!”? Of course, they get cross! (Mother to 3 children, family 2)

Similarly, young people reported that there is less communication when they are busy on their smartphones:

I think I went on my smartphone a bit too much. So, I couldn't really, like, not exactly talk with them. I could always talk with them but not have, like good, serious, long conversations, sit-downs (14 years old male child whose smartphone had been removed due to excessive use, family 4).

When exploring what he makes out of the words “smartphones”, “parents” and “children”, this young person reported:

I think about, well children going on smartphones and then, parents going on smartphones and then parents not, like talking to the children because they are on smartphones. Because when they are on their smartphones, they are busy (14 years old male child, family 4).

Validating this young person's account, his mother shared:

When they come off the phone, they come and want to talk. For example, when it is late into the evening, my son (had his smartphone removed) used to come off the phone and say, “Mum, can we talk?” but then, it would have been already late and I was like, “You have been on the phone all this time. Now it is time to rest and sleep, you need to sleep and I need to rest but you are coming for a chat just now”! He would come for a chat or feel the need to have a chat after spending his day on the phone (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

Reflecting similar experiences, other young people shared:

When I use it a lot, I don't interact with my mum and speak to her. But, when I

use it a little bit, then I speak to my mum (13 years old female child, family 12).

When I use it lower, I get to speak to them (referring to her parents) a lot and, like, spend more time. But, when I use it a lot, I don't really and I am always on my bed (12 years old female child, family 14).

When my phone broke in Turkey, I saw myself speaking to my mother more because there was nothing to do. But, when I got my phone back I was on my phone more (15 years old male child, family 14).

It is better, I can talk to them more, we interact more with each other, communicate more (15 years old male child, family 1).

On the other hand, both children and parents reported that there is more “active listening” and they “get to talk” with their parents when their parents aren't busy on or immersed into their smartphones. Also, they felt there are more opportunities for communication but more importantly for meaningful communication when they were not busy on their smartphones or immersed into their smartphone. These experiences were associated with positive and happy feelings. Reflecting this, a teenager reported:

When he (referring to her father) is not on the phone, I can talk to him without being interrupted and getting annoyed. So, (I) just like talk to him fluently without being annoyed, and I can talk to him without exactly getting stressed about anything. E. How do you feel when you are able to talk to him without interruption? (Child) I feel happy, I guess. Because, like him giving me attention - he never does - , it makes me kind of happy I guess (13 years old female child, family 4)

This teenager talks about how there will be the opportunity for uninterrupted and non-irritating communication with her dad when he is not busy on his phone. Talking about how she will have a similar experience when her mother is not busy on her phone, she said:

When she (referring to her mother) is not on the phone, then we can talk and I talk to her a lot I guess. We talk like without stopping (13 years old female child, family 4).

Sharing how she can talk with her mother “without stopping” when she is not busy on her phone, this young person shared how it will feel nicer when she can have

conversations with her dad:

It is nice (getting to talk to her mother), I guess. I don't know. It is nice, but when my dad talks to me, it feels nicer because he is always on his phone so when he does talk to me, it is like a very good feeling but my mum because she is not always on her phone when we talk I am kind of happy, but I am like this always happens (13 years old female child, family 4).

For this young person, talking with her dad appeared to be a significant source of emotional contentment and something that she really longed for. Reinforcing this young person's experiences, her mother expressed:

When we don't have smartphones in our hands, we tend to make an effort to communicate, we have conversations (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

"Making an effort to communicate" and "having conversations" were this mother's experiences when she wasn't busy on her smartphone. Sharing similar experiences, other parents reported how there will be more communication when they were not busy on their smartphones:

When I don't have the phone in my hand, we communicate. But, when I have the phone in my hand, our communication is limited and the phone takes priority over the children (Father to 3 children, family 2).

When you don't have the smartphone in your hand, you have conversations, but when you have, you don't (Mother to 3 children, family 8).

It is better, you get to converse, talk. It is better (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

A young person, who shared how he would initiate more conversations with his mother when she is not busy on her phone, said:

When she is not using it, I feel happy. I ask her questions. I am like, "How did you meet with my dad when you were young?", "How was your life when you were young?", "How many cousins do I have and stuff like that?" (10 years old male child, family 6).

Looking at children and parents' experiences, both parents and children felt that parental immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones was undermining parent-child communication and responsiveness towards each other. This experience was associated

with negative feelings such as frustration, anger and unhappiness. In contrast, both parents and children felt there was improved communication and interaction when parents were not busy on their smartphones or distracted by their smartphones. This experience was associated with positive and happy feelings.

Relationship Difficulties

All the data presented so far indicates how immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones can negatively impact on parent-child relationship. Further data that will be presented in this section more specifically illustrates how immersion into and high level of smartphone use can result in “frustration”, “tension”, “conflict” and “arguing”, in other words relationship difficulties between children and their parents. These experiences were in return associated with upset and unhappy feelings. In this context, feeling “sad”, “annoyed”, “withdrawing to their rooms” and “ignoring their parents’ bid for communication” were the emotional experiences and reactions some children reported when they felt their parents were too busy on their smartphones to interact with them. Reflecting this, a teenager shared:

My mum, she sometimes, like, let’s say, when we are talking, looks at her phone. I am like, “Mum, I am talking to you”, and she is like, “One minute, one minute”. She kinda gets distracted and doesn’t listen to me. E. How does that make you feel? (Child) I get sad, I guess. It is kind of really annoying and I don’t speak to her. I am like, “Ok, then I am leaving”. Then I go to my room and just stay there because she is not talking to me. E. What would be her reaction then, would she come after you when you go to your room? (Child) Yeah. When I go to my room, I think she realises what she’s done. Like, “Oh, I kinda ignored her” and then she comes and says “Oh, we can speak now” and I am like, “Oh, it is fine, it is fine”. Because I am annoyed at her and then I don’t speak to her (13 years old female child, family 4).

This young person talks about how her mother’s distraction by her smartphone and her subsequent non-availability for communication makes her feel “sad” and “annoyed”. She subsequently talks about how she would remove herself from the same space and withdraw to her room as a reaction. She talks about how her mother would subsequently realise what has happened and would try to communicate with her, but she wouldn’t engage with her due to feeling annoyed. Moaning about how her dad is always busy on

his phone and how as a result this affects their communication, this teenager further shared:

Once I was gonna leave to go to school and I was talking to my dad, but then he got a phone call and he stopped talking to me. I said bye and he didn't even say anything back. E. How did that make you feel? I was very sad, I guess. I was really annoyed at my dad (13 years old female child, family 4).

A different teenager, who shared that her mother would be cut from everyone when she is busy on her smartphone and won't be able to hear her when she tries to communicate with them, said that she would do the same thing (pretend that she can't hear her mother try to communicate) to make her mother aware of how it feels for her:

Sometimes I do the same thing (not hear her mother) to annoy her and I go like, "See, that's how I feel as well". E. What happens in that situation? She would get angry, "Oh, ok, you don't need to do it to me" and stuff like that (15 years old female child, family 5).

Furthermore, this young person talked about how she would feel angry and frustrated with her mother when she threatens to remove her phone as she feels she uses her phone more than her:

I argue with my mum quite a lot because of the phone E. How does that make you feel? Angry because she uses her phone more than me (15 years old female child, family 5).

Further sharing her frustration:

Well, whenever I see her, she is on her phone. For example, we will eat food, she will eat her food, she will still be at the table, she will take out her phone and then she will call someone. Her calls never end! (15 years old female child, family 5).

This young person's younger brother expressed similar frustration with regards to his dad's use:

When he is on his phone like 24/7, someone calls him; he is always talking for a long time. He talks too much (and) I go to sleep. Then that's when he comes (and) wakes me up, "Oh, what are you doing?" E. How does that make you feel when he wakes you up? (Child) I get kind of mad. Because now he wants to talk to me after I am about to sleep. E. Would you talk to him when he wants to talk? (Child) I am just mad; I don't want to speak to him anymore. Because, I know after he is

just gonna leave me and he is gonna go on the phone (10 years old male child, family 5).

A 10 years old boy (family 6), who reported that his father would use his phone a lot and whenever they talk a new delivery will come up cutting their conversations, reported that this will make him feel “sad”. A young person, who reported that she would become stubborn towards her mother when she spends a long time on her smartphone, shared:

When young people use smartphones for quite a while, like a long period of time, I have actually experienced this myself so I know; they become like stubborn towards their parents; towards their elders. And it can like have a really big impact on the family relationships (11 years old female child, family 13).

I explored with this young person what would happen when her she becomes stubborn and she reported:

Oh, they, mum, especially gets quite mad. She is like, “You are into that phone again, get off it, go on, read some books, go and do some colouring, just don’t use the phone, do something else”. I say “Ok” but... E. How does that make you feel when mum says stuff like that? I feel like I should be listening to her. I say “Ok”, but like one side of me is like “Just get off it”, but the other side of me is like, “You haven’t finished what you are doing, carry that on, don’t listen” (11 years old female child, family 13).

This young person refers to experiencing conflicting self-talks about her use. She further shared how she wouldn’t feel as stubborn when her use is lower, which may indicate that as the use increases the attachment to whatever activity one gets involved in increases too:

When I use the smartphone for a short amount of time, I don’t feel quite stubborn towards my parents. But when I use it for a long period of time, it kind of like, whatever the people on the smartphone do when I watch YouTube, impacts on my life as well. Because it is kind of like role modelling towards me!

Another teenager, whose smartphone had been removed from him due to his excessive use, felt the relationship between him and his dad gets worse as a result of the level of his use:

I think it gets worse (in response to how he feels his relationship with his parents is affected by smartphone use). Because if I use my smartphone too much, then my dad will get angry. Because he would say, “You are not talking to the family,

you are not involved” (15 years old male child, family 1).

Similar experiences were shared by another teenager:

When I do go on my smartphone a lot, they (referring to her parents) get angry at me (13 years old female child, family 4).

Further experiences shared by young people and parents indicated that smartphone use, when high, can be a source of tension, conflict and arguments between parents and children. Reflecting this, a young person shared;

Me and my mum just argued yesterday again for my phone. Because she was like, “I am going to take that phone off you. You are always on the phone”. I argue with my mum quite a lot because of the phone (15 years old female child, family 5).

When exploring what she makes out of the words “smartphones”, “parents” and children”, this young person shared experiences that elaborated further on the above experience:

Well, I imagine me and my mum because it is just her yelling at me for using my phone so much. So it is probably something like that. Like parents telling off their children. Taking the phone away from their children, but I don’t think that’s any use (15 years old female child, family 5).

For this young person, her smartphone use appeared to be a source of tension between her and her mother with whom she said she would argue a lot because of her smartphone use. For a couple of other young people and a mother, the words “smartphones”, “parents” and “children” seemed to have similar connotations:

Parents arguing with their children because their children are spending too much time on their phones (12 years old male child, family 9).

Just feel like parents would tell people, like their children off for using their smartphone too much (16 years old male child, family 7).

I say negative relationships, nothing more (Mother to 2 children, family 10).

Sharing similar experiences, another young person reported the following:

My mum, she would get mad a lot and she would say, “Come and help me in the kitchen” and I wouldn’t. E. What would happen when you wouldn’t? (Child) She would shout. E. How would that feel? (Child) Sad. E. Have there been other

reactions you have experienced? (Child) She always says she is going to break it, but then she doesn't break it. E. When you say mum gets mad, how does that look like? (Child) Like angry, like she shouts, she is like "Oh, get off your phone, you go on it too much" (12 years old female child, family 14).

This young person, who reported that in the past she had her smartphone removed from her several times due to her high level of use, talked about how her mother would get quite mad at her a lot and how this would be in the forms of getting angry, shouting and threatening to break her phone. Another young person shared similar experiences:

Yeah. Few times (in response to whether there had been times her parents reacted to her use). My mum would say "Get off", I would say "Ok" like the same thing would happen again. One side (of me) will say stop, one side will say carry on. I would listen to "the carry on". And my mum, she would really get angry, and then I would feel really bad. I was like, "I am making my mum shout for no reason just for this little thing". E. How do your experiences feel like when you feel that bad? I do feel quite sad at the same time. Like I am making my mum sad, which makes me sad. I feel a little bit of anger because she didn't give me much time to finish (11 years old female child, family 13).

Talking about how she would feel inner conflict about her use, this teenager talks about how she would feel sad and bad whilst at the same time experiencing a sense of guilt as a result of her smartphone use making her mother angry and shout.

Parents reported similar relationship difficulties. Sharing how she would become irritated when her son interrupts her activity on the phone and how this causes tension, a mother shared:

You become irritated and so does your child because I speak to my child in a raised tone [...] If I am shouting at my child, then my child shouts back at me and then I raise my tone further telling the child "Do not talk to me like that!". The more you shout at your child, the more your child shouts back at you (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

This mother explains how the tension would escalate between her and her child as a result of her son interrupting her whilst she is on her phone. In response to how she feels the parent-child relationship is affected by parental smartphone use, this mother shared:

It completely undermines it. That's why I was saying I feel guilty. I could use the time I spend on my smartphone to sit down and read a book with my child. For

example, I will take my child to his bed to get him to read. When my child is reading the book, I look at my phone and my child is like, “Mum, are you listening to me?” and at that moment, I realise that my child is noticing that I am not listening to him and then I also realise my mistake (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

A different mother talked about how she feels like breaking her son’s smartphone and how his dad would threaten to break the toilet door as a result of her son keeping busy on his mobile in the toilet for a long time.

I don’t like it. Once when I removed the phone from him, I felt like breaking the phone. Because it affects him a lot. He goes to the toilet and remains there for 2-3 hours. His dad would knock on the door, asking him to come out. He is like “I am going to break the door”. He once even opened the door on him but he doesn’t care, he carries on playing or looking at the film (Mother to 3 children, family 8).

A father, who talked about how their children being busy on their smartphone would cause problems, shared:

It feels like children are growing up in the online world. They don’t communicate with their parents much. They use the phone usually for chatting to their friends or for playing games. Of course, since they are always busy with their phones, as parents, we are not happy. Like sometimes, you tell them, “Can you do this” and they will be like, “I am chatting to my friend”. So they won’t do what you ask them to do. Like the other day, my wife was asking our daughter, “Can you come and help me?” and she was like, “I am chatting to my friend”. Like, she didn’t tell her friend, “My mum is calling me, I will chat to you later”. But, she carried on chatting to her friend. Of course, this leads to problems (Father to 4 children, family 1).

This father, who talked about how their children won’t listen to them and help out due to being busy on the smartphones, shared how they get annoyed about this:

When the child is always on the phone, of course you also get uncomfortable by this. Sometimes they say “Can we play on the phone for a bit?” and you let them. But when this turns into hours, you get annoyed because playing should be for 15 minutes or half an hour but they are not able to come off the phone for hours (Father to 4 children, family 1).

Sharing similar experiences, a different parent reported:

Sometimes I get angry because she spends a lot of time talking to her friends.

Sometimes I tell her, “you talk to your friends too much, reduce your time with your friends” (Mother to 2 children, family 12).

This mother shared that they would have arguments when her daughter (13) doesn't comply with boundaries:

I tell her, “You can have the phone by this time”. Sometimes she goes over her time as a result of which we have arguments.

Another mother, who shared that due to her daughter's immersion into her smartphone she won't be able to hear her, reported:

When my daughter has the phone, that's it. She is completely unaware of what goes around her. Even if I call her, she can't hear sometimes. She gets so immersed into that phone, she is only able to hear me after calling her 4, 5 times. E. How does that make you feel? I feel very bad. I get angry because she doesn't hear me. She says, “Ok”, but she repeats that OK 4 -5 times (Mother to 3 children, family 13).

This mother, who described her daughter's use as “a lot” for her age and expressed that she has been struggling to control this, added:

It leads to disagreement. And when I tell her not to use it, she is like, “What can I do, there isn't much else to do, I am bored”. She is like, “I have done my homework, I have got nothing else to do, let me play a bit”. E. How different does your relationship feel when her use is high and low? When she is on the phone, she doesn't listen to us at all.

Expressing similar experiences, one mother talked about how her daughter wouldn't listen to her as a result of her immersion into her smartphone:

She (referring to her daughter who she described as “addicted to her smartphone”) doesn't listen. Since she is not seeing that availability and attention from me, she is into her smartphone. She doesn't listen. She doesn't do anything she is asked to do. E. Are there other experiences in your relationship? She has become more interested in the outside and her friends (Mother to 4 children, family 14).

This mother talked about how her own immersion into her smartphone was causing her not being available for her daughter, which consequently was leading her daughter to spend too much time on her smartphone and becoming interested in the outside world. In responding to how smartphones are impacting on her children, she expressed:

Their relationship with their parents gets cut off. They don't have much to do with the home. Someone who is my daughter's age (12 years old) can at least help out her parents but she doesn't do this. As soon as she is back from school, she is in her room, on her phone. And when she wakes up, she has her smartphone in her hand and wouldn't touch anything. I am really disturbed by this a lot.

Besides, this mother shared how her teenage son would react to her own use:

My son (15 years old) has reacted a couple of times saying, "Mum you are always on the phone, spend some time with your children". He has spoken to me about this (Mother to 4 children, family 14).

A different mother talked about how her son would moan about her and her husband's smartphone use whilst reporting that her husband always has his phone in his hand, be it in the park or somewhere else:

He (referring to her son) has this tendency, if we are sitting together and I have a quick look at the news, he will be like, "Mum, are your news more important than your me, please leave the phone" and I will be like, "Ok, I am off the phone". They moan more about their dad's use. He uses it a lot and since he always has it in his hands wherever he is, be it in the park or somewhere else. They would say, "Mum, he is always chatting on the phone, he always has the phone in his hand", like, they always moan about his use. E. Do they demonstrate this to their dad? (Mum) They do, but their dad is addicted to it. So, we haven't been able to make much progress with that. E. Does this lead to a discussion between you and your husband? (Mum) Yes, we always talk about it and sometimes (he says), "Ok, I am putting it away" but 5 minutes later, he is back on the phone after receiving calls (Mother to 2 children, family 10).

A mother, who reported worries about her son's smartphone use and how she finds it difficult to control his use, also shared:

My son (10 years old) always plays games. He doesn't talk to us, he plays games. E. Are there times when you react to his smartphone use? (Mum) Of course, there are. E. What happens when you react? (Mum) He shouts and yammers (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

In this section, parents and children's views and feelings about how the immersion into and high level of smartphone use impacts on their relationship were illustrated. Both parents and children associated immersion into and high level of smartphone use with relationship difficulties, reporting that this was a source of "frustration", "tension",

“conflict” and “arguing” which were all associated with negative emotional experiences.

In the next section, the interview data on how the immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones impacts on the quality of parenting and parenting practices will be presented.

Parenting

Lack of parental supervision, guidance, involvement and attention were experiences parents associated with being too busy on or immersed into their smartphones. From the experiences that parents shared, this was resulting in episodes of reduced active parenting, if not absent parenting. Reflecting this, a parent shared:

When you are busy on your phone, you don't get to show any attention to your children. You are immersed into the phone. You are completely unaware of what happens around you (Father to 4 children, family 1).

According to this father, dissociation from the immediate environment and as a consequence, lack of attention and supervision were his experiences during his experiences of immersion or being busy on the phone. Elaborating on this, he reported:

When you are busy on the phone, you don't get to check in with your child as to whether they have homework or not or whether they have done their homework. Or you are not able to tell your child, “Come on, do some reading” because you yourself are busy, you are immersed into the phone and you can't come out (Father to 4 children, family 1).

“Not getting to check in with his children” and “not getting to encourage or support his children with their learning” were experiences this father associated with immersion into smartphones, in other words, indicating that there is reduced active parenting when there is parental immersion into the smartphone. Similar to this father, another parent expressed that there will be reduced supervision and attention when she is busy on her phone:

Of course, when I have the phone in my hand, my attention diminishes, I am not able to supervise what they are doing (Mother to 3 children, family 2).

A different mother talked about how her immersion into her smartphone meant

reduced parental presence and responsiveness:

Of course, when I have the phone in my hand, if the child says something, I don't take it seriously because I am so immersed into the phone. Sometimes my son even asks me, "Mum did you understand what I said" but because I am so immersed into the phone, I probably understand only half of what my son had said (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

Talking further about her experiences, this mother added:

But when you are on the phone, your mind is on the phone and you don't get to be available for your child. And when this happens, I feel as a parent I am using the time that I need to allocate to my child in a wrong way. [...] I feel I am stealing from my child's time with me, my husband is stealing from his time with our children [...] Sometimes, when you are on the phone because you get so immersed in the phone, you lose yourself. This is wrong. We need to overcome this and we need to be more available for our children (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

Children also associated parental immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones with reduced parental presence and availability whilst also making references to interferences as a result of their parents, usually fathers' smartphone use for work purposes. Reflecting this, a young person shared:

My dad is pretty much always on his phone. Because he always gets calls. Like when I want to talk to him, he always gets calls because he kinda like goes around fixing stuff. It is kinda like, they call him all the time and he is like most of the time not at home (13 years old female child, family 4).

When exploring what she makes out of the words "smartphones", "children" and "parents", this teenager responded:

Maybe parents not giving that much attention to their children, always going on their phones for like interviews, calls and work and stuff like that and having to send their children off like to other places because they can't look after them.

Talking about how her dad would be mostly out of the home, this young person talked about how when at home his father would always be on his phone due to work-related calls:

He is always on the phone. So whenever I want to talk to him, he is always on the phone, like for long periods of time. So I don't, like, exactly get to talk to

him that much (13 years old female child, family 4).

For this teenager, her father being busy on his smartphone for long periods of time meant that she wasn't getting to talk to her dad that much whilst her conversation with him would be interrupted by work-related calls. Elaborating on this further, she said:

Well, when he is on the phone, if someone calls him, it means that he has to go to work. It is mainly that, so when I do want to ask him something, I can't I guess because I know the phone is going to ring any minute and he is gonna have to go to work because he works 7 days a week (13 years old female child, family 4).

The thought that "the phone is going to ring any minute" seems to be affecting this young person's bid for communication with her dad as she seems to feel almost certain that work-related calls will interrupt it. Echoing similar experiences, another young person said:

Whenever we are speaking, a new delivery comes up (10 years old male child, family 6).

For these young people, the interruption by work-related calls resulted in interruptions in conversations, in other words, fragmentations in their parents' meaningful presence and availability. Another young person, who indicated how the blurring of boundaries between home life and work life - perhaps the intertwining of work and home life - is affecting parental availability, shared:

I think there was this one time we were going to do something and I asked my dad to help and he said he was busy on his phone, writing messages for work and he didn't join me. Can't remember what it was (15 year old male child, family 1).

This teenager shared that if it is not the smartphone, his parents would be busy watching television, indicating a general lack of meaningful parental presence and availability:

If they are not on their phone then they are watching TV, so we don't have much interaction [...] if they feel like communicating they communicate, if they don't feel like then they don't communicate. Sometimes my dad comes from work and he is tired. He doesn't feel like talking so he would be on his phone. If he is not on his phone, he still doesn't feel like communicating so he just watches TV (15 years old male child, family 1).

This experience was echoed by this teenager's father:

When we are not busy on our phones, we do sometimes have conversations, small and short. Of course, if the television is switched off. When television is always on, there is no conversation anyway. Even if you are not busy on the phone, you are watching television (Father to 4 children, family 1).

The interruption by other devices and how this would impact on her father's availability was shared by another teenager:

I am probably the one who uses the phone the least. Because everyone else has, like they all will use their phone. For example, my dad when he is home, like he will come from work, he will take my brother's iPad and then he will play on the iPad for like I don't know hours. He wouldn't be present with us even on the table. He is always watching something (15 years old female child, family 5).

One other young person talked about how her parents' work commitments would mean that they can't be available as she would want them to be, even if she is not busy on her phone:

They both are quite busy, I guess. So my dad is always out, forget about that but my mum, she does child-minding. So even when I wanna talk to her, she is kind of like busy running around and stuff. So even if I don't go on my phone, if I talk to my mum she is really busy every day of the week or I am doing revision or homework. So it's kinda like, I don't know, times clash (13 years old female child, family 4).

Talking about how his father's high level of use will make him feel that they are "divided", a young person, who said "Oh, he is on it 24/7!" and how this would make him feel "horrible", shared:

My dad uses his phone a lot but it is only for his work. Like he gets calls from the customers for delivery but after that he just watches football on his phone (10 years old male child, family 5).

This young person's mother also commented that her husband's availability for their children is negatively affected by his smartphone and iPad use whilst reporting that this would make the children to retreat to their rooms:

He is not available for the children; he is always playing games (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

On the other hand, both parents and children shared that non-immersion into smartphones

meant parents were more present in their children's lives, which meant there were more conversations, more listening, more time spent together and more fun, which was leading to more positive feelings. Talking about how she would be more involved with her children, a mother shared:

When we don't have smartphones in our hands, we tend to make an effort to communicate, we have conversations. E. How does that feel for your children? Happy. Because there is communication, we can talk. I also feel better listening to them and spending time with them. There is the opportunity to listen to them. We get to have fun (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

According to this mother, when she is not busy on her smartphone, she would be available to make an effort to communicate and have conversations with her children, which they would feel happy about. She further shared that she would have the opportunity to listen to them and spend time with them, which she also feels good about. Talking about how he would be more aware of what his children are up to, a father shared:

When you are not busy on your phone, you are aware of what your children are doing. Like, whether they are doing their homework or other things. [...] You see what your kids are doing, you are able to ask your child, "Have you done your homework?" or "Why are you just being lazy?", "Read a book or draw something". At least, you are able to guide your kids (Father to 4 children, family 1).

For this father, there was more of a parental awareness and active parenting when he wasn't busy on his smartphone. Echoing similar views, another parent reported:

When I don't have the phone in my hand, I am more able to attend to them. I am aware of what they are doing. I can guide them. At least, I am more able to observe their behaviour, more aware of what they are saying (Mother to 3 children, family 2).

These views were echoed by the children:

I am happy that they don't go on it as much as we do. Because then they have way more free time for us. So it is good (14 years old male child, family 4)

When he is not on the phone, he asks me (about) my homework and everything but when he goes on his phone and everything like I hardly get.., he goes to like living room and starts talking. And he doesn't come back for an hour and that's

when I am done with my homework (10 years old male child, family 5).

Talking further about his experiences, this young person shared:

When he is using it less, like he comes upstairs to talk to me and everything. Like I have fun, but when he is on his phone like 24/7, someone calls him; he is always talking for a long time. He talks too much (and) I go to sleep. Then that's when he comes, wakes me up, "oh, what are you doing?" E. How does that make you feel when he wakes you up? (Child) I get kind of mad. Because now he wants to talk to me after I am about to sleep. E. Would you talk to him when he wants to talk? (Child) I am just mad; I don't want to speak to him anymore. Because, I know after he is just gonna leave me and he is gonna go on the phone (10 years old male child, family 5).

This young person further shared how his mother would be more present and available when she is not busy on her phone:

It is better because we talk. She (referring to her mother) tells me, like, do your homework. She helps me read and everything (10 years old male child, family 5).

In response to what she makes out of the words "smartphones", "parents" and "children", a young person associated this with parental immersion and availability issues:

Parents get involved, like they use their phones a lot, they always forget about the child. They aren't really aware of what the child is doing because they are the people that actually are addicted to it (13 years old female child, family 2).

What this young person sees "as forgetting about the child" was somewhat echoed by a couple of parents who felt the smartphones were taking priority over their children:

I feel like the most important thing in our lives has become smartphones. It feels like they come before our children (Mother to 3 children, family 14).

When I have the phone in my hand, our communication is limited and the phone takes priority over the children (Father to 3 children, family 2).

Overall, immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones was associated with reduced active parenting (in other words, reduced parental availability and presence) both by young people and parents. On the other hand, the opposite was associated with improved active parenting experiences, in other words parents and children felt parents were more involved, more present and available. Also, it appeared that although smartphones

facilitate a more flexible working experience for fathers, for children this meant interference and lack of paternal presence.

The following section illustrates children's and parents' views in relation to the role of smartphones in children's contact with their family members in Turkey, the significance of this for children and parents and how this can be a source of positive feelings and subsequent interaction between children and parents.

Smartphones' Role in Children's Contact with Family Members in Turkey

Smartphones were found to play a significant role in children's contact with their family members in Turkey. Children and parents reported both having video and audio calls with their family members whilst they reported that these contacts take place mostly over WhatsApp (most-cited), FaceTime and Snapchat. Both children and parents reported that thanks to smartphones their contact with their family members in Turkey was regular, the frequency of which varied from family to family. Some reported having daily contact whilst others reported less frequent contact. The family members that the children cited to be most in contact with were "cousins", "grandmothers", "uncles", "aunties" and "granddads". For children, maintaining contact with their cousins seemed to be significant in particular. Reflecting this, in response to whether she has family members in Turkey that she is in regular contact with, a child said:

Yeah, my cousins, we are very close friends. So I ask my dad, because my dad talks to family members, he talks to her (cousin's) dad, if I can talk to her. He says yes and he gives me the phone and I talk to my cousins. E. Any other family members? My uncle, my grandma and my granddad (11 years old female child, family 3).

Similarly, another young person shared:

I use WhatsApp to call my cousin and talk to him sometimes or talk to my uncles, my grandmother, my cousins and like the rest of my family that I can't visit (15 years old male child, family 1).

This was echoed by other young people:

Yes, I have contact with my auntie and then my uncle and my cousins (9 years old female child, family 3).

I have a cousin in Istanbul, I talk to him on Snapchat (10 years old male child, family 6).

Children's contact with their cousins was followed by "uncles", "grandmothers", "aunties" and "granddads". Reflecting this, in response to whether they are in contact with their family members in Turkey, young people and parents shared:

Yeah, regularly. Obviously, my dad and my mum call Turkey like our family members, like, my uncles, everyone basically and I will talk to them as well. And especially on Eid, like, after prayer we come back, and they call them or they call us and like all of us we will talk to them (16 years old male child, family 7).

Well, yeah my granddad lives in Turkey and he calls us like every day as well or we call him every day. And my mum has got like cousins and stuff in Turkey. So we call them as well quite a few times a day (15 years old female child, family 5).

Oh yeah. I call my aunt. I call her a lot on FaceTime (on the smartphone). That's mainly it, sometimes my grandma (13 years old female child, family 4).

Yes, they have cousins who they are in regular contact with over WhatsApp (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

Yes, they are in regular contact with their grandma and granddad (Mother to 4 children, family 5).

My daughter has her uncles, aunties and cousins. She is in regular contact with her aunt and cousin. Also, we have a cousins group, cousins and mothers. We share stuff, photos with one another, so it is nice in this respect (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

Of course, he (referring to her son) has uncles, grandma and aunties (that he is in contact with), he loves them (Mother to 3 children, family 7).

I usually get them to speak to my dad, also their cousins (Father to 3 children, family 2).

One young person reported she doesn't have much of a contact with her extended family members in Turkey over the phone as she doesn't like talking on the phone too much:

It is like, not me, our family like my parents do with their parents because of course, I don't have internet. When my parents call, I talk with them, but it is not really too much. I actually don't like talking on the phone too much; I like talking face to face. I get embarrassed; I don't know why. I get shy even though I know them very well and we are very good. It is just that I have a weird, like a different

feeling; I can't do it. It is very weird when I am talking on the phone to people (13 years old female child, family 2).

This was echoed by this child's mother:

They don't have contact over the phone even if it is with their cousins. When you ask them whether they want to speak to them, they get uncomfortable. They prefer face-to-face contact to phone contact (Mother to 3 children, family 2).

Children valued their virtual contact with their family members as a means to check in and keep in contact with them, especially given their limited ability to visit them frequently. Reflecting this, a young person shared how having phone contact with his family members makes them feel closer:

I use WhatsApp to call my cousin and talk to him sometimes or talk to my uncles, my grandmother, my cousins and the rest of my family that I can't visit. E. Does this feel important for you? Yes. Because they live far away and I can't go and visit them when I want to. So it makes them feel closer when I communicate with them on WhatsApp (15 years old male child, family 1).

In responding to what he uses his smartphone mostly for, this child's father's reported:

For speaking to family members. It helps with our feelings of homesickness. At least, we are able to have video calls. [...] E. You have video calls with your family? (Dad) Yes, at least once a week I speak with family members. Even if not with all of them, I speak to some of them. I feel this is a necessary thing for not losing communication with one another (Father of 4 children, family 1).

Other children referred to how they like seeing/speaking to their family members virtually as they don't get to go to Turkey often:

I feel really happy that I can get in touch with them (her grandparents). I can hear, like their voices, like make sure they are ok. Because if I didn't, that would make me quite uncomfortable like (checking) how they are, are they all right? (11 years old female child, family 13).

Happy because I get to see them (her cousins) because I hardly see them. Like we do go (to) Turkey but like we go for like 3 weeks (10 years old male child, family 6).

Yeah, because I can see them (her uncle and grandparents). I only see them (in person) during the summer holidays, so I like seeing them on the phone (11 years old female child, family 3).

Good (feels good about speaking to her cousins), because we can't go to Turkey like every single month (12 years old female child, family 14).

Feels nice because obviously we don't go to Turkey every year so, like, if I talk to them when I have spoken to them (his family members) for a bit, then it feels nice catching up with them. E. How does that make your parents feel? Obviously they get happy as well because I am talking to their brothers and sisters as well, like, my uncles and my aunties (16 years old male child, family 7).

A young person who reported that they have regular contact with her granddad and cousins, shared:

It's really; it's cool because you get to speak to people from all over the world. So you can just have one call, you can speak to them, you can see what they are doing and stuff. So it is really nice (15 years old female child, family 5).

Like children, parents valued their children's contact with their family members in Turkey significantly and expressed that this makes them really happy. They felt this was particularly important for keeping family ties strong and maintaining family relationships. Reflecting this, a couple of parents shared:

As far as possible, we try to maintain their contact with the children of the family members in Turkey in order to not to lose contact but also to improve family relationships (Father to 4 children, family 3).

I get happy when she speaks to them because I don't want her (referring to her 13 years old daughter) to cut her ties with her family members, for example, cousins. I tell her, "Spare 10 minutes of the time you speak to your friends to your cousins; if you do that, your family ties would get stronger". If we argue, this is the sort of stuff we argue about. I tell her, "I don't like this aspect of her" and she is like, "What can I do, I don't have a bond with them; we don't have contact". She is like, "I have things to share, discuss with my friends but since I don't get to see my cousins, there is not much to talk about" (Mother to 2 children, family 12).

One parent talked about how thanks to smartphones and apps like WhatsApp, her daughter's contact with her aunties has become more frequent and how these contacts can be a source of emotional support and guidance for her daughter, which subsequently positively impacts on her relationship with her daughter:

Previously my daughter got to speak to her aunts once or twice per year. But now she is talking to her aunts once or twice a day. Therefore, we are able to keep family relationships tighter. E. Does that have any subsequent impact on your relationship with your daughter? Yes, it does. My daughter gets happy. She is like, "Mum, my auntie told me this, told me that". Even if there is something personal, she chats to her auntie over WhatsApp, and her auntie will then guide her. I have a sister in Germany and she has told her if there is anything you feel you can't share with your mother, you can share with me so she would text her aunt asking her to call when she is available at times. In this way it is good. She feels valued when her auntie responds to her. She is like, "My auntie is chatting to me, she is valuing me". Like when we have disagreements, I would get her aunts or dad on board and they will give her words of advice. When that happens, my daughter's attitude towards me changes for the positive (Mother to 3 children, family 6).

For other parents, their children's contact with their family members in Turkey was a source of positive and happy feelings. Reflecting this, a father expressed how happy he feels when his children speak to their family members in Turkey and how these contacts would be a source of a warm atmosphere within the home:

I feel really happy when they speak to my father especially. E. How do children feel about their contact with their granddad and cousin? (Dad) They are happy E. Does this subsequently impact on your relationship with them? (Dad) When they speak to my dad, they would teasingly moan to my dad about me. After the call, we joke about their moaning. I will teasingly be like, "Why did you say that?" which makes them enjoy the moment more. It feels warm (Father to 3 children, family 2).

Similar experiences were shared by other parents:

It makes me happy. He doesn't talk frequently but on special occasions like Eid, he would talk. And seeing him talking to our family makes me happy (mother to 3 children, family 7).

They become happy, I become happy. They talk to their granddad usually (Mother to 4 children, family five).

It is a nice thing as he gets to see those in Turkey. He (referring to her son) gets happy (Mother to 2 children, family 9).

In a couple of cases, parents resented that their children were not independently seeking contact with their family members in Turkey and their contact with them wasn't at a level they would like it to be:

To be honest, they haven't got much communication. They have joined some groups and they say Hi. Like there isn't that thinking that they should call their family members in Turkey. If they talk, they talk with their granddad and they do that on our phones. They haven't got that thought of calling their nan or granddad from their phones. This is wrong. I have never seen them speaking to them. E. You would like them to speak to them? Of course, I would like to. At least in order not to lose the bond (Father to 4 children, family 1).

They don't call that much. If I call and they are around, they talk to them (referring to family members in Turkey). She calls her auntie here in London. That makes me happy because I know that she is calling her auntie or her cousin but she doesn't call often (Mother to 3 children, family 4).

The majority of children also reported positive feelings about their contact with their family members in Turkey, relaying that this is something that makes both them and their parents happy, with reports that smartphones make their family members feel closer and helps them to be distantly involved and connected with them. Children reported that their contacts with their family members in Turkey would trigger and be a source of subsequent communication/chatting between them and their parents, which they reported positively impacts on their communication and relationship. Reflecting this, a young person said:

Talking to my other family members, it kind of lightens up the mood a little bit. Because like everyone is happy that they have made sure that the person we called is quite, like, healthy and they are happy. So it's, like, it kinds of brightens up the mood in the house (11 years old female child, family 13).

Sharing similar experiences, another child reported:

Oh yeah. I call my aunt. I call her a lot on FaceTime. That's mainly it, sometimes my grandma. If I am bored and I am wondering what they are doing or I miss them, I will call them. E. How does that contact make you feel? (Child) I get happy because when I see on my Instagram they are hanging out together, I am like, "Oh, you know, can I be involved in that, included in that (the activity they are doing)" and then I call them and like actually I am included in that and I get happy, I guess E. So that makes you happy? (Child) Yeah, like even knowing what they are doing, them telling me what they are doing and their plans E. Does that have an impact

on your relationship with your parents subsequently, in a positive or negative way?
(Child) In a positive way, we can talk about what they talk about together with my mum (13 years old female child, family 4).

Similar experiences were shared by other young people who reported that both they and their parents enjoy it when they have contact with their family members who live in Turkey:

Oh, my dad really likes it when my granddad calls me and stuff like that. He likes how close me and my granddad are. E. Does that subsequently have any impact on your relationship with your dad? Yeah, because they like seeing us speaking to people they like as well, it is just nice, they really enjoy it (15 years old female child, family 5).

Well, my mum and dad and my family get very happy when we speak to our family members. It has a positive effect. It makes me feel excited to speak to them because I know everyone is going to be happy (11 years old female child, family 3).

I feel happy because, like, I get to see them (9 years old female child, family 3).

A young person, whose parent felt he was “addicted” to his smartphone and how they would struggle to get him down from his room to the living room to spend time with them, talked about how because of his contact with his nan, he would come down and spend time with his family:

Yeah, I talk to my granddad, I talk to my Nan. I talk to my Yenge (sister-in-law). I talk to my cousins that are outside the UK, my brother, like, my brother went to Turkey for two weeks E. How do you feel when you speak to them? (Child) I feel good because I haven’t seen them in a long time. E. How do your parents feel about you speaking to them? (Child) They feel happy because most of the time, I am on my PS4 and mostly, I don’t come downstairs E. How does that affect your relationship with your parents? (Child) It is better because I come downstairs, stay downstairs like for 2 hours talking to my nan and everything, talk to the people I normally talk to (10 years old male child, family 5).

Another young person talked about how his contact with his cousins in Turkey gives him the feeling that he hasn’t wasted his time and he has done something good which makes his parents happy.

It is good because I haven't wasted my time and I have done something good. E. How does it make your parents feel when you speak to your cousins? I think it makes them happy to know that like I am contacting, talking with my cousin and it is not like playing games, so it makes them happy (14 years old male child, family 4).

A couple of young people commented how talking over the phone feels weird for them:

I actually don't like talking on the phone too much; I like talking face to face. I get embarrassed; I don't know why. I get shy even though I know them very well and we are very good. It is just that I have a weird, like a different feeling; I can't do it. It is very weird when I am talking on the phone to people (13 years old female child, family 2).

Because I don't speak to her (referring to her grandmother) much, when I speak to her, I don't know, it feels awkward (13 years old female child, family 12).

The exploration of smartphones' role in children's contact with their family members in Turkey showed that this was particularly important for parents whilst the majority of children also valued this and showed some awareness about why this was important in terms of their family relationship and identity needs. Given their young ages, their contact with their cousins felt important for the majority of the children whilst some children elaborated on how their contact with their older family members was a source of positive feelings.

Children's preferred language when using smartphones

All children reported that they use their smartphones in English; however, at the same time, the majority of children reported that they sometimes access content in Turkish, which some children felt was important for not forgetting Turkish and for their contact with their family members. Reflecting this, a young person shared:

My mum has set the settings to Turkish but you can use it in English, like it varies. I can use it in Turkish or English. But mostly I use it in English because of games and videos. E. Being able to use it in Turkish, is this important for you? (Child) Yeah, because I feel I shouldn't forget Turkish because of English or being away from Turkey. E. Why does it feel important not to forget Turkish? (Child) Because, Turkey is where I come from and I feel like in my mind English is becoming more and more in use, so I would like to bring the Turkish back (11 years old female child, family 3).

Another young person said:

Sometimes I would use my mobile to reach stuff in Turkish but this isn't often. E.
Is it important for you to reach content in Turkish? A bit because it helps me not to forget things I know. I need to know Turkish to contact people, so forgetting it is not going to be good (15 years old male child, family 1).

As set out earlier, almost all children reported having contact with their family members who live in Turkey, especially cousins, which when considered in the context reported by (Mother to 3 children, family 6) is probably a significant factor in helping children to improve and maintain Turkish language skills:

In English (in response to in what language he accesses content on his smartphone) but when I was talking to, texting my cousin it was in Turkish (14 years old male child, family 4).

I have a cousin in Istanbul, I talk to him on Snapchat (10 years old male child, family 6).

I watch Turkish films and Turkish series like "dizi (series)", but like if it is Turkish YouTubers, I don't exactly watch Turkish YouTubers, it is mainly English YouTubers (13 years old female child, family 4).

All this indicates that smartphones have a significant role in helping children maintain distant family relationships and can be a source of promoting children's sense of belonging with their culture, connection with their identity and their Turkish language skills.

Summary

This chapter illustrated the research findings in relation to children's and parents' patterns of smartphone use, their views and feelings in relation to their patterns of use, the role of smartphones in children's learning and the impact of smartphone use on children's learning and their health as well as methods parents seek in managing their children's smartphone use. It also set out the research findings in relation to smartphones, parent-child and family relationships. Finally, it demonstrated the research findings in relation to the role of smartphones in children's contact with their family members in Turkey.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the research findings. In doing so, study data are summarised whilst references are made to previous research in further contextualising the findings of this research. Discussions and analyses are organised in the same way as in the chapter four of the thesis, covering the following themes: “children’s smartphone use, its implications and managing smartphone use”, “parents’ smartphone use”, “smartphones, parent-child and family relationships” and “smartphones’ role in children’s contact with their family members in Turkey”.

Children’s Smartphone Use, its Implications and Managing Smartphone Use

One of the significant findings of the study was around the patterns of children’s smartphone use, which included use for entertainment, learning, communication and social media, indicating that smartphones are facilitating children’s access to a number of “content”, “conduct” and “contact” opportunities (Hasebrink et al., 2009). Using the smartphone for entertainment was the most cited area of use by the children. Regardless of their ages and gender, all of the children reported that they use smartphones for entertainment, in a way illustrating how in the example of smartphones, digital devices are shaping and controlling children’s leisure experiences, their time and space in this respect (Scannell, 2007; Aroldi and Ponte, 2013). The two most cited types of entertainment included watching entertainment followed by playing games whilst YouTube was the most cited platform for accessing entertainment. An interesting finding was that, overall, children associated negative retrospective feelings with their use for entertainment, describing their non-educational smartphone use as a “waste of time” or “useless”. Similarly, parents largely felt negative about their children’s smartphone use for entertainment.

Following entertainment, using smartphones for learning was the second most cited area of use by the children and this is further elaborated on under a separate sub-heading in this chapter. Subsequent to the use for learning, using smartphones for communication was the third most cited area of use by the children. Texting and talking to friends, contacting family members that live far away and keeping in touch with parents during trips to and from school were the cited areas of use for communication. The fourth most cited area of use by the children was accessing social media. As noted previously, the multi-functions of social messaging apps and social media platforms means that all of the above areas of use are inextricably linked as one area of use can harbor use for different purposes (e.g., social media can be used for communication, entertainment, participation, etc.). These findings reinforce previous research findings, which highlight that with the fast spread and increasing availability of internet and communication technologies, there are now more and diverse opportunities for children's learning, communication, participation, creativity, expression and entertainment (Livingstone and Helsper, 2009; Hasebrink et al., 2009). All these opportunities are prompting the children to go online more and in more diverse ways (Livingstone et al., 2014). As a result, they are exposed to a lot more compared to the pre-digital age (Craft, 2012), which is leading to a big shift in how children are spending their time, how they learn, interact and experience the world around them.

Smartphones and Children's Learning

As noted earlier, almost all of the interviewed children seemed to value smartphones as a tool that helps them with their learning and feeding their interests whilst they associated positive feelings with their use for learning. Similarly, parents perceived their children's smartphone use for learning positively and they were able to recognise that smartphones can be helpful tools in supporting their children's learning. These findings are consistent with past research which found that internet use – which is increasingly taking place via smartphones – for learning or school-related purposes are positively perceived and valued by parents (Turow and Nir, 2000; Mesch, 2003; Mesch, 2006b; Lee and Chae, 2007).

Additionally, children reported that when their smartphone use was high and unrestricted this was messing up with their routines, daily functioning and learning, with reported

experiences of “feeling more tired”, “staying up late and waking up early to use the smartphone”, “having concentration difficulties at school” and “sleeping in school”. These findings resonate with previous research findings which associate sleep disturbances with prolonged or problematic smartphone use (Söderqvist, Carlberg and Hardell, 2008; Thomee, 2018; Ra et al., 2018; Liu et al., 2019; Sohn et al., 2019). Similarly, parents shared concerns around smartphones being a distraction for children, which impacts on their concentration, their attainment and motivation to allocate time for learning.

Furthermore, the interview data revealed that there was a common understanding of what constituted “useful” and “useless” smartphone use for the children, in that they attributed positive feelings to their smartphone use for learning and spending time with their family whilst associating negative feelings with their non-learning time on the smartphones. It has to be acknowledged, however, that children’s views in this respect may have been shaped by their parents’ views/feelings or by the wider perceptions around good and bad patterns of smartphone use. As it will be set out in more detail in the parent-child and family relationships section, the type of use which children categorised as a “waste of time” was associated with conflict, tension and relationship difficulties between them and their parents. The fact that children also largely felt ambivalent feelings about their smartphone use for entertainment illustrates an interesting context. A context whereby children are experiencing a double effect: On one hand, they feel they are struggling to control or limit their use. On the other hand, they retrospectively feel discontent about their use for entertainment while this retrospective discontent is further reinforced by their parents’ disapproval and discontent. Furthermore, children who reported high levels of use reported a state of almost being carried along by their smartphone use, which again was an area of discontent for them and indicated their struggle in controlling or limiting their use. These findings resonate with the research which found that concerns and guilt associated with mobile phone use were pervasive among parents and teens and that teens and parents were experiencing ambivalence and confusion as to what appropriate use is, as a result of lack of clarity as to “how much use is less, how much use is too much, what sort of use is bad and what sort of use is good” (Lanette, 2018:198).

Smartphone Use and its Impact on Children's Health

Another finding of this research was that parents and children associated high levels of smartphone use with health issues and concerns. The health concerns expressed by the children and parents included sleep deprivation, lack of movement, weight gain, feeling sick, having headaches, hands feeling fuzzy, lack of energy, eyes going red, eyes hurting, and feeling tired. These findings are similar to the findings of past research, which sets out various negative health implications of mobile phone use, prolonged mobile phone use, problematic smartphone use and prolonged exposure to radiofrequency radiation from mobile phones for children and young people, including sleep disturbances, tiredness, headaches, migraines, skin itches, concentration difficulties, anxiety, stress, symptoms of ADHD and depression (Söderqvist et al., 2008; Chiu et al., 2014; Thomee, 2018; Ra et al., 2018; Liu et al., 2019; Sohn et al., 2019). Given all these negative implications, researchers have recommended the need for more awareness about the adverse health outcomes of prolonged mobile phone use and more caution and healthy use of mobile phone use especially given that as “digital natives” children are going to experience a longer lifetime exposure to radiofrequency radiation (Chiu et al., 2014; Hardell, 2018; Riesch et al., 2019).

A further finding of this research was that parents felt their attempts to limit their children's smartphone use was triggering difficult behaviours (e.g., aggression and conflict), indicating the emotional health/well-being implications in the context of parent-child relationship. These findings are again similar to past research findings which found a strong association between regular use of mobile devices (mobile phones and digital tablets) and behaviour problems in children (Divan et al., 2012; Hosokawa et al., 2018; Ra et al., 2018).

Managing Children's Smartphone Use

An additional finding of this study was that the majority of the interviewed children reported that there were no clear rules or boundaries around their smartphone use. This was echoed by parents whose strategy of managing their children's smartphone use was mainly through “verbal encouragement or discouragement”. In cases of reported high level of use, “removal of smartphones”, “not getting home broadband”, “switching off

the internet” and “hiding the phone” were the strategies resorted to by parents. Some of these practices are consistent with previous research which found that families in Turkey were mostly resorting to “restrictive mediation strategies” in managing their children’s media use whilst active mediation strategies were underrepresented, which is discussed to be related to low parental digital literacy skills (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2013; d’Haeenens and Ogan, 2013). “Threats to remove smartphones” both as a way to punish teens but also to control their mobile use was also an experience reported by parents and teens in a study carried out with American families (Lanette, 2018). In my research, a couple of children whose smartphones had been removed expressed how this made them feel left out and deprived them from communication with others whilst a teenager reported that the threats of removing smartphones wasn’t a solution but on the contrary, something that could further exacerbate the relationship difficulties between children and their parents. These findings support the argument that the “phone removal” can have negative emotional implications for children, leading to increased internal conflict for teens especially given how much the phones have become an integral part of their daily lives whilst the threats to remove phones can further strain parent-child relationship (Lanette, 2018: 181).

During the interviews some of the children openly shared their struggle and discontent about not being able to control or limit their use. They explained that their initial plan of use for a very short period of time usually ends up with much longer periods, describing a state of being dragged by a constant desire of wanting to carry on. This indicates that children do experience short-term or immediate gratification that is leading them to want to carry on constantly, however they later experience regret. The majority of the interviewed children wanted their smartphone use to be different, indicating the ambivalence, confusion and discontent the children were experiencing with their patterns of use. Spending less time on their smartphones was a common wish shared by the young people. Again, these could be influenced by what children are exposed to in terms of what constitutes good and bad use or low and high level of smartphone use. Similar to the children, the majority of parents wanted their children to spend less time on their smartphones and allocate more time for their learning and family time. Again, these findings correlate with research which found that discontent associated with mobile phone use were common among teens and parents (Lanette, 2018: 198). Just like everyone, the novelty of smartphones and their multiple functions have prompted

children's increased exposure to online opportunities and risks. The fact that the research to understand the various implications of smartphones for children and their families is relatively new means that the first users of this technology – especially digital immigrant parents – can be limited in their understanding of how to manage and support their own and their children's smartphone use (Paus-Hasebrink et al., 2012; Buckingham, 2006; Lenhart, Raine and Oliver, 2001; Turow, 2001; Kiessler et al., 2000; Mesch, 2003; Turow and Nir, 2000). This becomes more challenging in the case of diasporic communities whereby they are experiencing double immigration (both digital immigration and immigration from one country to another) and the implications stemming from both.

Another finding of the study was that children whose smartphone use was perceived to be high by their parents expressed frustration about how their parents would discourage them or tell them off for their use but would maintain a high level of use themselves. Paradoxically, these reactions were from the families whereby both parental and child smartphone use was reported to be high, which was associated with negative emotions and parent-child conflict. Just like the children, parents reported similar experiences whilst showing awareness in this respect and self-dissatisfaction for contradicting themselves. Talking about these experiences, parents reported that their children would ask them “to come off the phone”, call them “hypocrite”, question them as to “whether they are listening to them”, would tell them “you are telling us but you never drop your phone” and would moan “we are always home, you are on your phone”. Parents associated negative emotions such as feeling “bad”, “guilty”, “tongue-tied” with these experiences as well as feeling like “they are not being good role models for their children”. These findings are consistent with research which highlights that parental modelling behaviour is more significant than parental norms and parental influence is more effective and much higher when parents model the guidance they set for their children (Liu et al., 2012; Kerr and Stattin, 2000; Bandura, 1977).

Children's curious and fun-searching nature when embedded with an individualised tool like the smartphone, which offers access to unlimited activities, undoubtedly can make it difficult for them to manage their use responsibly. Given the general discontent reported by the children and their parents about their non-learning use, the implications of high use on their learning, their routines and children's struggle to manage their use responsibly, the need for parental guidance and support to help the children to

appropriately navigate their use becomes much more apparent. As discussed earlier, in cases whereby high levels of child use was reported, high levels of parental use was also common, which is a complicating factor that seems to get in the way of parents' ability to model their children's appropriate use. As it will be further discussed in the following sections, this was undermining parental guidance around children's smartphone use whilst children reported frustration about parental interference on such occasions as they felt their parents were using the phone more than them.

Parents' Smartphone Use

The study data indicated that discontent associated with smartphone use was common amongst parents, with prevalent reports from parents that they would like to change and lessen their use. In particular, the use of social media was associated with negative use by the parents whilst the use for communication and accessing information was associated with positive use. These findings are again consistent with past research which found pervasiveness of negative emotions and discontent amongst parents with regards to their mobile phone use (Lanette, 2018; Radesky et al., 2016; Hiniker et al., 2015). As noted earlier, in expressing their discomfort about their use, parents mostly referred to social media, which they perceived as "a waste of time" whilst expressing a desire in wanting to change this. Similar to parents, several children also wanted their parents' smartphone use to be different. Children who were struggling with high-level use tended to want their parents' smartphone use to be lower as well. However, the number of parents who wanted their use to be different and/or lower was higher than the number of children who reported that they would like their parents' smartphone to be different and/or lower. Almost half of the children reported that their parents don't use their smartphones a lot and thus they didn't express a wish for their use to be different.

Feeling addicted to their smartphones was an experience reported by several parents who expressed "experiencing vacuum" or "something missing from their lives" when they are without their smartphones. Those parents reported strong dissatisfaction about the patterns of their smartphone use. Some of these parents talked about how they feel carried along by their use whilst talking about their struggle in controlling or limiting their use. These findings show similarities with past research, which discuss that mobile devices such as mobile phones are "habit-forming" and can lead to individuals experiencing

vacuum when they disconnect from their devices as a result of the absence of stimulants that come with these devices (Oulasvirta et al., 2011; Carbonell et al., 2013; Jarvenpaa and Lang, 2005).

A few parents, who reported high personal use and discontent about this, reflected that their own use was not role modelling their children's use. As noted earlier, these parents regretted this whilst expressing that they feel "bad" and "tongue-tied" when their children question or show reaction to their own high level of use. These parents demonstrated awareness that in order for them to be able to model their children's use or for them to bear influence on and/or guide their children's use, they need to demonstrate this first with their own use. To some extent, these findings correlate with research which found that parents were breaking the rules they were setting with regards to family technology use, which was leading to their children making connections between their parents' lack of compliance with family technology rules and their own behaviours (e.g. obsession with phones- see Ortner and Holly, 2019; Blackwell, Gardiner and Schoenebeck, 2016).

Smartphones, Parent-Child and Family Relationships

The overarching aim of this study was to explore the implications of smartphone use on parent-child and family relationships. The study findings indicated that parent-child and family relationships were interfered with and fractured by the integration of and immersion into smartphones. For parents and children, these adverse effects were visible in parent-child and family time, parent-child communication, parenting experiences and subsequent relationship difficulties between parents and children.

Parent-Child and Family Time

As noted above, one significant finding of the study was around the negative implications of smartphones for immediate parent-child and family time. Both parents and children reported that with the integration of smartphones into their lives, there were interferences with their daily experiences of sharing, sitting together, sharing the same space (e.g., the living room, dinner table) and having conversations whilst parents particularly expressed that the family relationships were "no longer the same". For children and parents all these experiences were generating feelings of "separation", "disconnection", "divide" and

“feeling cut from each other”. Parents felt that with the possession of smartphones by almost every family member and the multi-functions smartphones offer as constant internet-connected pocket devices, family members were more individualised and disconnected from one another due to everyone being engaged in various online activities by themselves. For parents this interference meant “loss of family conversations, plays and chats”, “loss of sharing”, “children retreating to their rooms and refusing to come down and sit down together”, “there not being quality family life”, “everyone keeping themselves to themselves”, “disregard for parents”, “values such as attention and respect for parents getting damaged” and “parents not being able to have a good conversation with their children, talk about religion or tell a story”. For children this meant “feeling separate, cut and far away from each other”, “not having quality time together”, “not going out as a family”, “not being able to focus on eating due to there being sound from everywhere as a result of everyone being on their individual devices at the dinner table”, “feeling separate from their parents due to them being always on their phones” and “getting divided”. Children described these experiences as “not nice”, “upsetting”, “annoying”, “horrible”, “separating”, “not feeling together”, “lonely”, “too dull” and “robotic”. On the other hand, improved parent-child and family time were experiences reported by the young people when their parents were not immersed into their smartphones. Children described these experiences as “feeling together”, “sitting down together, speaking together and laughing altogether”, “fun” and “everyone being active, lovely and bubbly”.

Both children and parents associated reduced parent-child and family time with high levels of use, attributing negative emotions to these experiences. The interview data indicate that quality parent-child time, which normally is/should be a source of play, fun, conversation, story-telling etc., is getting replaced by more individual use of time as a result of individualised functions of mobile devices facilitating disconnection and separation between parents and their children. These findings are important in indicating how the increasing “control of time and space” (Scannell, 2007) by smartphones is leading to multiple negative implications for parent-child and family time. The mass spread and adoption of smartphones and other multiple personalised digital devices and their domestication have probably taken the below experience highlighted by Roger Silverstone to an unprecedented extent:

“parents and children could be seen to occupy separate domestic times and spaces, isolated by personalised stereo systems ... passing each other like ships in the night in a jamming fog of electronic communication and information overload” (Silverstone, 1991, cited in Morley 2000: 90-91).

In this context, the findings of this study are important in further highlighting the extent of “technoference” in parent-child and family relationships (Ortner and Holly, 2019; McDaniel and Radesky, 2018; McDaniel, 2015; McDaniel and Coyne, 2014) and how the domestication of multiple personal digital devices are leading to increased private media consumption as a result of individual family members’ frequent and repetitive withdrawal into their own digital world. To one extent or another, this results in a reduction in joint family activities from having conversations to sharing the same space, sitting together etc. This, in turn, is generating new patterns of family relationships and a state of absent presence within the homes in terms of parent-child and family interactions (Caron and Caronia, 2021; Devitt and Roker, 2009; Morley, 2000; Gauntlett and Hill, 1999; Gergen, 2002).

Further consistent with the findings of this study, some researchers argue that internet use – which, as highlighted previously, is now increasingly and mostly taking place via smartphones – does reduce parent-child and family time and family relationships (Ortner and Holly, 2019; Lee and Chae, 2007; Mesch, 2003; Nie, Hillygus and Erbring, 2002; Kraut, 1998). Additionally, it is argued that internet use reduces the time that parents and children spend together in common activities, consequently facilitating the social isolation of children from adults as well as leading to family conflicts (Nie, Hillygus and Erbring, 2002). It is further discussed that there is a positive relationship between the time that adolescents and parents spend together and family cohesion and a negative relationship with family conflicts (Mesch, 2006b: 130). Reinforcing this argument, adolescents have reported a decline in their time with their family when they use the internet, stressing that internet use does not help them to improve their relationship with their parents (Lenhart, Rainie and Lewis, 2001). There are also researchers who assert that “parents and adolescents worry that internet use might have a negative effect on family communication, closeness and family time” (Jackson et al., 2003; Turow and Nir, 2000; Nie et al., 2004). Similarly, there is research highlighting how traditional family hierarchies and family structures can be vulnerable to developing internet and communication technologies and how internet connection has led to widespread conflict

within families as it has brought new challenges in terms of parent-adolescent relationship in areas of adolescents' autonomy, parental authority and control of the computer (Mesch, 2006a: 487-491). On the other hand, there are other researchers who assert that internet facilitates family time together through "shared moment of exploration and entertainment" (Kennedy et al., 2008: 3-4); and with various communication tools (email, skype, instant messaging and texting) it can contribute to greater connection with friends and family. There are other studies that have found that the internet does not displace time with family and time spent in family communication (Shklovski, Kraut and Rainie, 2006; Lee and Kuo, 2002; Kraut et al., 2002); on the contrary, it is asserted that it can improve family communication and family relationships (Howard, Rainie and Jones, 2001; Wellman et al., 2001).

It should be noted that the majority of the above-mentioned research supporting either side of the debate is from the early 2000s, which is before the introduction and widespread use of smartphones; however, this body of work is still relevant as the internet connection is increasingly and mostly taking place via smartphones now.

Internet and communication technologies, in particular smartphones, have simplified and enriched our lives in many ways. However, despite the wide range of technological advances, not having enough time remains paradoxically an experience felt by many more than ever. In particular, not having enough time for themselves nor for their children is an experience felt increasingly by the parents of our time (Runcan, 2012: 11) while the significance of parent-child time is probably more crucial than ever due to an ever-increasing number of instruments interfering with parent-child and family time. This becomes more crucial in diasporic communities such as the Turkish-speaking community whereby parent-child relationship can be fragile as a result of a number of additional complicating factors and issues stemming from various experiences of immigration, which can lead to conflict between parents and children.

Parent-Child Communication

The study data revealed that both parents and children associated immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones with "non-active listening", "not getting to talk", "interruption with conversations" and "not getting to have in-depth conversations",

which they reported leads to frustration, anger and unhappy feelings. In particular, “not getting to talk” was an experience reported by many children as a result of immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones. These findings resonate with research which highlight that “technoference” negatively impacts on parent-child communication (Sbarra, Briskin and Slatcher, 2019; Lanette, 2018; McDaniel and Radesky, 2018; Radesky et al., 2014, Hiniker et al., 2015; McDaniel, 2015; McDaniel and Coyne, 2016; Kushlev and Dunn, 2018). Furthermore, the study findings indicate that immersion into and distraction by smartphones can lead to a state and episodes of “absent presence” (Gergen, 2002) when it comes to meaningful communication between children and their parents. As such, raising parental awareness in this area is significant as nurturing and meaningful communication is a key element not only in the development and sustenance of a healthy bond between parents and children from pre-birth up until children reach adulthood and beyond, but also it is significant in supporting parent-child relationship when faced with new opportunities and challenges such as new media use (Bowlby, 1969; Fujioka and Austin, 2002; Law, Shapka and Olson, 2010; Lanette, 2018). Furthermore, it is a source of emotional warmth, self-worth and self-confidence, which are all crucial factors in children’s healthy development and their social and communicative skills in their connection with the outer world (Guralnick, 1999; Hart et al., 2003; Hosokawa et al., 2018).

Children’s and parents’ narratives that their communication will be interrupted as a result of immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones gives support to the concerns around the “experiences of self-disclosure and responsiveness” and opportunities for meaningful communication being fragmented continuously as a result of smartphone use (Sbarra, Briskin and Slatcher, 2019). With the various affordances of ICTs, in particular smartphones, distant communication and sharing has become significantly much easier, faster and much more frequent. As a result, more is communicated and shared. Equally, individuals are exposed to a lot more information, communication and content. Sbarra and his colleagues (2019) highlight that all these have the potential to undermine immediate interpersonal relationships. Elaborating on this, they discuss that with the integration of smartphones, our experiences of sharing our thoughts, feelings, views and responses in relation to all these experiences have gone through tremendous change. As a consequence, unlike the past experiences of self-disclosure and responsiveness, these experiences are now much more susceptible to fragmentations and interruptions as a

result of individuals' continuous engagement with the various affordances of smartphones. They further observe that with their easy portability, constant connectivity, and various forms of communications and affordances, smartphones can continuously intrude and fragment real-time interactions and as a result, can undermine the quality of in-person interactions (pp. 604). Reinforcing these views, research has found that the accessibility and affordances that the smartphones provide promote the users to continuously disengage from the present, which in parents' case can mean that their engagement with their child/ren is often disrupted (Johnson, 2017: 27-31).

On the other hand, the study data indicated that both children and parents associated non-immersion into and non-distraction by smartphones with experiences of more "active listening", "getting to talk", "more opportunities for communication" and more importantly "more opportunities for meaningful interaction", which were associated with positive and happy feelings.

Relationship Difficulties

As it can be understood from the study data discussed and analysed so far, both parents and children reported that high levels of smartphone use/immersion into smartphones triggered "frustration" and was a source of "tension", "conflict" and "arguing", in other words relationship difficulties between children and parents. Children described these experiences as their parents "getting angry", "getting mad", "shouting/yelling at them", "threatening to remove their phones or breaking them" and "them arguing with their parents". Those experiences were associated with unhappy feelings by the children and parents. Feeling "sad", "annoyed", "feeling stubborn and defiant", "withdrawing to their rooms" and "ignoring their parents' bid for communication" were the emotional experiences and reactions some children reported when they felt their parents were too busy on their smartphones to interact with them or when their parents scolded them for their high use. Although both children and parents, who reported high smartphone use, expressed a strong wish to change their patterns of use, they also openly talked about their struggle of not being able to make lasting changes as a result of their dependency on smartphones, which they described as an "addiction". These findings are consistent with research, which found high levels of reported mobile phone conflict in families and multiple technology tensions between parents and teens regarding technology use and

attitudes (Lanette, 2018; Blackwell, Gardiner and Schoenebeck, 2016). Furthermore, the findings resonate with past research findings, which highlight that immediate interactions are fractured with adverse emotional and social consequences with the emergence, fast spread and integration of mobile devices (Sbarra, Briskin and Slatcher, 2019; Johnson, 2017; Lindley, 2015; Kushlev and Dunn, 2019). It is also consistent with other research which has found that children would demonstrate behavioural issues when there is “technoference” (Radesky et al., 2014; McDaniel and Radesky, 2018; Stockdale, Cole and Padilla-Walker, 2018).

It is important to consider all these findings in the context of research which has found that intergenerational cultural dissonance²¹ between immigrant parents and children can be a source of parent-child conflict which weakens positive parent-child bonding (Simsek, 2012: 89; Choi et al., 2008: 85). This gains more significance especially in the context of research which highlights that first-generation immigrant parents can lack capacity in supporting their children with their various needs due to their limited language skills which can lead to young people challenge parental authority (Simsek, 2012: 85-86). Research has found that the lack of literacy – both language and digital literacy – makes it difficult for immigrant parents to support their children with their educational needs or the problems they face whilst making it also difficult for them to adopt active mediation strategies to support their children’s media experiences (Simsek, 2012: 84; d’Haenens and Ogan, 2013: 57). Considering these findings altogether, the extent of the complicating issues that can negatively affect the relationship between immigrant parents and their children becomes much clearer, making further research on the implications of ICTs on the relationship between immigrant parents and their children more compelling.

As noted previously, the quality of parent-child relationship, which starts to form pre-birth and carries on through various stages of life, has significant implications for children’s cognitive, emotional and social development. Children’s positive and nurturing relationship with their parents is key for children to experience a positive sense of self and well-being, which is crucial for them to develop emotional and social

²¹ Intergenerational cultural dissonance is “a clash between parents and the children over cultural values” (Choi et al., 2008: 85).

resilience, self-confidence and self-esteem. Since the parent-child relationship is the first primary relationship children form, it is the most significant relationship that models their subsequent relationships and how they maintain and manage those relationships. Research (Bowlby, 1969; Diana Baumrind, 1991; McFarlane et al., 2010; Tuttle, Knudson-Martin and Kim, 2012, 2012; O'Connor, 2012) indicates that children who experience a secure relationship with their parents develop a sense of being important as their early experiences of distress is managed by their parents/caregiver with attention, responsiveness and warmth, highlighting the importance of quality and nurturing parent-child interaction. Such children are more able to manage their own feelings and behaviours as a result of their early emotional and physical needs being well-met, which also promotes their ability to relate to others as self-confident and resilient individuals. Children with a secure bond are more likely to maintain this bond with their parents/caregivers through puberty despite the fact that their relationship is faced with developmental characteristics of the delicate puberty years (Laursen and Collins, 2009: 7-8).

Parenting

An additional significant finding of this study was that parents associated lack of parental supervision, guidance, involvement and attention with being too busy on or immersed into their smartphones. They felt that their presence and availability for their children was significantly reduced when they were immersed into their smartphones, which resulted in reduced active parenting experiences, if not absent parenting. Parents described their experiences in this regard as “being completely unaware of what happens around them”, “not getting to show any attention”, “not getting to check in with their children”, “not being able to encourage and support their children’s learning”, “diminished attention and supervision”, “lack of active listening and thus not understanding their children” and “not being available”. Parents were discontent and bothered about all of these experiences which were also echoed by the children who associated parental immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones with reduced parental presence and availability. Both children and parents associated these experiences with negative emotions whilst for parents this was a source of self-discontent. These findings indicate that immersion into smartphones can have significant negative emotional implications for parent-child attachment which is formed and developed

through appropriate parental attentiveness, presence and availability (Bowlby, 1969; Laursen and Collins, 2009; O'Connor, 2012). In this context, these findings resonate with research which highlights that digital connectivity - which is now increasingly and mostly happening via smartphones - is fracturing individuals' attention with adverse social and emotional consequences (Lindley, 2015; Kushlev and Dunn, 2019). The study findings further indicate that immersion into smartphones can lead to parents being "absent-present" (Gergen, 2002), which again can be significantly damaging for children's bond with their parents as appropriate parental attention, presence and availability are evidenced to be crucial for children's healthy development and attachment with their parents/caregivers not only in their early years but as they go through adolescence whilst having implications for all other stages of life (Bowlby, 1969).

Moreover, the study findings indicated that immersion into smartphones results in "disengaged parenting" (Baumrind, 1991; Baumrind, 2005; Tuttle, Knudson-Martin and Kim, 2012). These findings correlate with the research which found that parents felt smartphones were leading to parents' continuous disengagement from the present, meaning that their engagement with their child/ren was often disrupted (Johnson, 2017). Disengaged parenting can be damaging for children's bond with their parents as research has shown that the type of children's parenting experiences has a significant impact on children's emotional, behavioural, cognitive and social development (Bowlby 1969; Baumrind, 1991). All of these findings indicate that with the introduction and widespread adoption of internet and communication technologies there are new challenges for parents in terms of their role in raising their children (Livingstone and Helsper, 2009; Hasebrink et al., 2009). In addition to the above findings which highlight how immersion into smartphones can lead to "disengaged parenting" practices, the fact that high levels of child smartphone use was usually an experience reported in households whereby parental smartphone use was also high further indicates that lack of parental presence and attention is leading to lack of appropriate parental supervision and guidance when it comes to managing children's smartphone use.

One theme that was emphasized by a few young people – in fact, they moaned about this – was their fathers' lack of presence and availability due to their work commitments.

They felt this was further restricted due to their fathers' smartphone use when they were physically present in the home. For these young people, this experience was making them feel "sad", "mad", "angry" and "annoyed". These findings tally with previous data which highlight fathers' lack of presence and emotional support for the young people, in particular boys, within the Turkish-speaking community in London especially in the instances of fathers working very long hours (Greater London Authority, 2009: 22). Presenting a nuance to this data, in my research it was both the girls and the boys – in fact more so the girls – who moaned about their father's lack of presence and availability both due to work commitments but also due to their fathers' immersion into their smartphones when home and not working. Children who wished for their fathers to be more present and available felt this was also restricted as a result of interruptions by work-related calls when their fathers were home, indicating that constant connectivity and availability via smartphones meant there were regular interferences in their relationship with their fathers and as a result, a lack of paternal presence and availability within the home (Lindley, 2015; Kushlev and Dunn, 2019). As outlined by Greenhaus and Bautell (1985: 76-88), the "work-home interference", namely the blurring of work and home boundaries, has been intensified by mobile devices which have extended space and time and as a result, have blurred the distinctions between the work and private domains of life (Koffer et al., 2015: 2; Green, 2002: 281).

A couple of children reported that their parents not being busy on their smartphones didn't necessarily mean they were being available for them as they would be either tired or distracted by other digital stimulants such as TV or iPad. This finding correlates with the discussions that the availability of multiple digital devices within the homes and their use and presence has resulted in family members withdrawing into their own mediated world, leading to reduced parental availability, attentiveness and responsiveness (Kushlev and Dunn, 2019; Radesky et al., 2015; Hiniker et al., 2015; Radesky et al., 2014; McDaniel, 2015; Devitt and Roker, 2009: 200; Morley, 2000: 90; Caron and Caronia, 2021: 200).

On the other hand, both parents and children associated non-immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones with more parental attentiveness, presence and availability, which meant more conversations, more listening, more time spent together and more fun. Parents described their experiences in this respect as "being aware of what their children

are doing”, “being able to support and guide their children”, “being able to attend to their children’s needs”, “being able to observe them” and “being able to actively listen to them and understand them”. Children described similar experiences, in that they felt their parents were able to have “more free time for them”, “checking in with them about their homework”, “encouraging them to do their homework and read” and “checking in with them in general”. Both parents and children associated positive and happy feelings with these experiences whilst for parents, this was a source of self-content.

With the increasing number of tempting ICTs and online stimulants, the significance of children experiencing appropriate parental attention, presence and availability is becoming ever more significant. In fact, with the growing role the mobile technologies are playing in children’s, adults and families’ lives, the significance of appropriate parenting has probably never been as crucial as now, especially given that digital dependency is not only affecting children and young people but equally adults (Ofcom, 2020a; Ofcom, 2020b; Carbonell et al., 2013; Oulasvirta et al., 2011; Horrigan, 2009; Middleton, 2007; Jarvenpaa and Lang, 2005). In this context, this study reinforces the findings of previous research which found that absorption by mobile devices (smartphones and tablets) results in “reduced parental stimulation”, “children not seeking attention from their parents or their caregivers whilst demonstrating difficult and provocative behaviours”, “lack of parental availability and attentiveness”, “interruptions in parent-child interactions” and “lack of perceived parental warmth as a result of parents’ technoference” (Ortner and Holly, 2019; Stockdale, Cole and Padilla-Walker, 2018; McDaniel and Radesky, 2018; Kildare and Middlemiss, 2017; Radesky, et.al, 2015, Hiniker et al., 2015; Radesky et al., 2014).

Smartphones’ Role in Children’s Contact with Family Members in Turkey

Thus far the discussion and analysis outlined how immersion into smartphones and high level of use can have negative implications in terms of parent-child and family time, parent-child communication, parent-child relationship and parenting practices. However, the study data revealed a contrasting picture in relation to the role of smartphones in children’s virtual contact with their family members in Turkey, in that the findings were overall very positive in this respect. This indicates that whilst smartphones are perceived to undermine the immediate parent-child and family time, parent-child communication,

and in general immediate family relationships, in the instances of distant family relationship/communication, they are perceived to be promoting family ties whilst making family members “feel closer”.

To elaborate on this, both parent and child participants reported that smartphones were having a significant role in their contact with their family members in Turkey, with them having regular contact with their family members in Turkey thanks to the affordances of smartphones. For some children and parents, this was a daily occurrence in the form of video and audio calls, whilst this was less frequent for some others. Children reported being mostly in contact with their “cousins”, “grandmothers”, “uncles”, “aunties” and “granddads”. The majority of the children valued their communication with their family members in Turkey to check in and keep in contact with them especially given their limited ability to visit them in person frequently. For most children, their contact with their family members in Turkey was a source of positive feelings. Children reported that their contact with their distant family members makes both them and their parents happy, with reports that the communication via smartphones makes their family members feel closer whilst facilitating distant involvement and connection with them. Elaborating on their experiences, children reported that “they get happy as they get distantly included in what their family members do”, “they get to see and have catch up with their family members”, “they get to check that their family members are ok”, “their contacts with their family members lightens up the mood and everyone gets happy”, “their cousins feel closer when they communicate on WhatsApp”, “their parents get happy” and “they feel excited to speak to their family members as they know everyone is going to be happy”. Furthermore, children reported that their contact with their family members in Turkey was a source of subsequent positive atmosphere and interaction between them and their parents, which children felt was positively impacting on their relationship and communication with their parents.

Similar to children, for parents, their children’s contact with their family members in Turkey was particularly significant and something that made them really happy. They valued their children’s contact with their family members in Turkey, particularly in order to keep family ties strong and improve family relationships. Expressing similar views to the children, parents reported that with smartphones there is “more contact with their family members in Turkey”, “the virtual contacts with family members is subsequently

a source of a warm atmosphere and conversation between parents and children”, “they feel really happy when their children speak to their family members” and “with virtual contacts they are able to maintain their children’s ties with their family members”. A couple of parents resented that their children were not having frequent enough contact with their family members or initiating contact with them independently. These findings are consistent with the research which found that mobile phones play a positive role in promoting availability, presence, interaction and communication in cases whereby family members are distant from each other. In particular, research undertaken on transnational mothering in relation to the role of mobile phones and the internet highlight that the use of mobile phones and internet provides a virtual intimacy and more frequent contact, which to some extent compensates for the physical absence from children and family members (Wang and Lim, 2017; Escobar, 2010; Wilding, 2006; Parrenas, 2001). Through virtual contact, it is discussed that parents maintain a continuous “absent presence” (Uy-Tioco, 2007) in their children’s lives, in other words “an endless remembering, presence, continuity and emotional connection” (Escobar, 2010: 37-40).

As a final point, as part of my research, I also explored whether children were accessing content in English or Turkish on their smartphones and all children reported that they use their smartphones mainly in English. However, at the same time, the majority of children reported that they do sometimes access content in Turkish, which some children felt was important for not forgetting Turkish for their contact with their family members. It should also be noted that children’s audio, video and text contact with their family members in Turkey is a source not only for children to maintain contact with their family members but also a source for promoting their sense of belonging as well as their Turkish language skills.

Conclusion

This study sought to understand the implications of smartphone use on parent-child and family relationships within the Turkish-speaking community in London. Notably, both parents and children felt that with the integration of smartphones into their lives, there were interferences with their daily experiences of sharing, sitting together, sharing the same space (e.g., the living room, dinner table) and having family conversations. This was felt to be leading to a sense of disconnection and separation between parents and children. Discontent and negative emotions were associated with these experiences both by the children and parents. Furthermore, immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones was associated with reduced experiences of quality communication and meaningful interaction between parents and children. For parents and children, the immersion into and/or distraction by smartphones was leading to experiences of “non-active listening”, “not getting to talk” and “interruption with conversations” whilst this would result in frustration, anger and unhappy feelings. Moreover, both parents and children reported that immersion into and high level of smartphone use was resulting in relationship difficulties, which were characterised by experiences of “frustration”, “tension”, “conflict” and “arguing”. As a consequence, these were leading to children feeling “sad”, “annoyed”, “withdrawing to their rooms” and “ignoring their parents’ bid for communication”. As for the impact on parenting practices, both parents and children associated lack of parental supervision, guidance, involvement and attention with parents being too busy on or immersed into their smartphones. From the experiences that parents shared, this resulted in episodes of reduced active parenting, if not absent parenting due to parents’ dissociation from their immediate environment. On the other hand, non-immersion into smartphones was associated with improved parent-child and family time, parent-child communication, parent-child relationship and active parenting both by the children and parents.

With respect to the implications of smartphone use for children’s entertainment, learning and health, smartphones were found to play a significant role in children’s entertainment, however this type of use was commonly associated with retrospective discontent and negative feelings both by the children and parents. Equally, smartphones were found to

play an important role in children's learning. In contrast to the negative feelings about smartphone use for entertainment, smartphone use for learning was associated with positive feelings both by the children and parents. With regards to the impact of smartphone use on children's health, high levels of use was associated with health concerns and worries ranging from sleep deprivation to lack of movement, weight gain, feeling sick, having headaches, hands feeling fuzzy, lack of energy, eyes going red, eyes hurting, and feeling tired.

As for the role of smartphones in children's contact with their family members in Turkey, this was something that was valued both by the children and parents for keeping the family ties strong and maintaining family relationships with reports that smartphones make their family members feel closer and help them to be distantly involved and connected with them. Children's contact with their family members in Turkey was reported to be a source of happy feelings and subsequent positive interaction between them and their parents. These findings contrast with the common perceptions around the impact of smartphone use on immediate parent-child and family relationships indicating that the type and the context of use can significantly impact on perceptions and experiences around smartphone use.

This research is significant in being the first research that explores the impact of the current most pervasive ICT device, namely smartphones, on parent-child and family relationships within a diasporic community whereby parents and children live together. In this context, it provides a step in understanding how new ICTs are influencing, shaping and re-configuring the immediate parent-child and familial relationships and non-immediate familial relationships within immigrant ethnic minority communities, which are already susceptible to a number of challenges that stems from intergenerational conflicts between parents and children who have been and are still going through different experiences of socialisation (Choi et al., 2008; Simsek, 2012). In this context, the study findings are important in understanding how in the example of smartphones, digital device use in immigrant families is influencing experiences of parent-child and family time, parent-child communication, parent-child relationship and parenting practices. The study gains more significance especially given that the exclusive research carried out on the impact of smartphone use on parent-child and family relationships is relatively new. In this context, the findings of this research are important in further

contributing to knowledge around the impact of smartphones on parent-child and family relationships in general. Moreover, the study further contributes to the knowledge around the role of smartphones in immigrant children's contact with distant family members in the instance of an established diasporic community whereby parents and children live together.

A primary limitation of this study was the use of self-reports, though this was to a certain degree countered by the opportunity to compare the reports from the child and parent participants, which was helpful in further validating the findings of the study. Also, interviews could only be carried out with 3 fathers, which was another limitation. Although the reports from children and mothers did provide an understanding of paternal smartphone use and its impact on parent-child relationships, future studies should promote fathers' involvement in similar research. A further limitation was that the study was limited to children aged 8 and over. Future studies can consider younger children to explore the impact of parental smartphone use and its implications for early parent-child attachment and bonding. Additionally, this study was limited to parents, the majority of whom had their education as primary school and children, the majority of whom were secondary school age. Future studies can focus on different age groups and parents from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. Besides, although the findings are significant in portraying a snapshot from the Turkish-speaking community in London, the narratives are based on 14 families, therefore, the generalizability of the findings would be limited. Future similar and diverse research on the Turkish-speaking community and other diasporic communities will help develop a broader understanding of the implications of smartphone use and other ICTs on parent-child and family relationships.

Appendix I: Information Sheet for Younger Children

Title of study: **The implications of smartphone-use on parent-child and family relationships: The case of Turkish-speaking community in London**

Researcher: Ergin Yaman, University of Westminster

Supervisor: Dr Alessandro D'arma, University of Westminster

Hello,

My name is Ergin Yaman and I am a student at Westminster University. I have been curious about parents' and children's smartphone use and how this affects how parents and children get on with one another. For example, I wonder whether parents and children use smartphones so often that it makes them spend less time together, do less activities together, speak and listen to one another less. Also, I have been curious to find out from parents and children the ways they think smartphones can be helpful. For example, do they think they are helpful with children's learning, entertainment, for parents and children to keep in contact with one another when they are not together but also in children's contact with their family members who live far away and if so how and in what ways? I have been curious to find out about all these questions from Turkish-speaking families in London because there isn't much research that has tried to understand the impact of smartphones on children and families who live away from their country of birth or origin.

So, with this information sheet I am inviting you to tell me what you think about all of the above questions and more.

Below I will try to explain why I am doing this research, what it will include if you wish to take part in it and how this research can be helpful.

Why am I doing this study?

Smartphones have become very popular. Nowadays, almost everyone has a smartphone. This is because smartphones can be very helpful in many ways. They help people to chat to one another, can be used for listening to music, playing games, watching videos, checking the weather and the news etc. All these benefits make parents and children use smartphones a lot but there isn't much research that tries to understand how this affects the relationship between children and their parents and family members. With this study, I am hoping to find out whether parents' and children's smartphone use makes them spend less time together, do less activities together, speak and listen to one another less. Also, I have been curious to find out from parents and children how they think smartphones can be helpful. For example, do parents and children think they are helpful with children's learning, entertainment, for parents and children to keep in contact with one another when they are not together but also in children's contact with their family members who may live outside of the UK? I am planning to find out about all these questions by having interviews with children and parents from Turkish-speaking families in London because there isn't much research that has tried to find out about the impacts of smartphones on children and parents in families who live away from their country of birth or origin.

I am hoping that by doing this research I will get a better understanding of how smartphones affect the communication, interaction and relationship between children and their parents and other family members. The results of my research could help parents and children to better understand the positive and negative uses of smartphones.

What I will be asking you if you decide to take part in this study?

1) Participating in an interview (a chat) with me to find out

- about things such as your age, your education level, how long you have been living in the UK etc. I would also want to find out about your smartphone use if you have a smartphone or frequently use your parent/s' smartphone.
- whether you think smartphone use makes parents and children to spend less time together, do less activities together, speak and listen to one another less;

- whether smartphones can be helpful in helping you with your learning, entertainment, keeping in contact with your parents when you are not together but also your contact with your family members who may live outside of the UK. This will take about 1 hour and will be recorded. The recording will be transcribed and the audio recording deleted.
- 2) Your parent/s participating in an interview with me to get their views in relation to the above outlined questions. This will take about 1 hour and will be recorded. The recording will be transcribed and the audio recording deleted.

Will doing the research help you?

I am hoping that taking part in this research will help you and your parent/s to reflect about how smartphone use affects your relationship with one another and your family members who live outside of the UK. Through this I am hoping that you and your parents will have a better awareness when it comes to the positive and negative impacts of smartphone use.

Please note:

- You can choose not to answer any particular questions if you do not wish to do so.
- Your details will be kept anonymous. The results could be published in a report, blog, journal article or book but you will not be identified in any way in these publications.
- Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary.
- You have the right to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.
- You have the right to ask for your data to be withdrawn.
- All computer data files will be encrypted and password protected. The researcher will keep files in a secure place and will comply with the requirements of the Data Protection Act.
- All hard copy documents, e.g. consent forms, completed surveys, etc. will be kept securely and in a locked cupboard. Documents may be scanned and stored electronically. This may be done to enable secure transmission of data to the university's secure computer systems.

- If you wish and this was deemed appropriate by your parents, you can receive information on the results of the research. Please indicate on the consent form if you would like to receive this information.
- I can be contacted during and after participation by email at w1617249@my.westminster.ac.uk.
- If you have a complaint about this research project you can contact the project supervisor, Dr Alessandro D'arma by email at A.Darma@westminster.ac.uk.

Appendix II: Information Sheet for Older Children

Title of study: **The implications of smartphone-use on parent-child and family relationships: The case of Turkish-speaking community in London**

Researcher: Ergin Yaman, University of Westminster

Supervisor: Dr Alessandro D'arma, University of Westminster

Hello,

My research aims to explore how smartphone use (both parents' and children's use if they own a smartphone or use their parent/s' smartphone frequently) affects the communication, interaction, quality-time spending and bond between children and their parents and family members within Turkish-speaking community in London. It also aims to explore the ways smartphones can be helpful for children in areas such as their learning, entertainment, and contact with their parents as well as their family members who may live outside of the UK. As such, I would like to invite you to take part in this study. In this information sheet, I will try and answer any questions you might have about the study.

Why is this study being done?

Smartphones have become popular devices transforming people's lives thanks to their various functions, easy portability and other benefits that come with internet connection. Despite this, how smartphones affect parents' and children's communication, interaction, quality-time spending and bond has only recently begun to receive some attention whilst the research that has been encountered with respect to the use of mobile phones within ethnic-communities has been found to be mainly on immigration and mothers who have to leave their children behind to work in another country to provide for their children and families. This research aims to further contribute to the available research by exploring how smartphone use is impacting on parent-child and child-family communication, interaction, quality-time spending and bond within an ethnic community, namely Turkish-speaking community in London, whereby children and parents live together. It also aims to explore the ways parents and children think mobile phones can be helpful including children's learning, entertainment, and contact with their parents as well as their family members who may live outside of the UK. This will help me to gain a better

understanding about the positive and negative impacts of mobile phones on parent-child and child-family relationships whilst potentially raising awareness within the community in this respect.

What will this study involve if you decide to take part in it?

1) Participating in an interview (a chat) with me to find out

- around your socio-demographic characteristics (e.g. age, your education level, how long you have been living in the UK etc.) alongside some information about your mobile phone use if you have one or use your parent/s smartphone frequently.
- how in your experience smartphone use impacts on your relationship with your parents in areas such as parent-child communication, parental presence, availability and attentiveness and parent-child time
- to explore uses of mobile phones when it comes to your learning, entertainment, contact with your parents as well as your extended family members who may live outside of the UK. This will take about 1 hour and will be recorded. The recording will be transcribed and the audio recording deleted.

2) Your parent/s participating in an interview with me to get their views in relation to the above outlined questions. This will take about 1 hour and will be recorded. The recording will be transcribed and the audio recording deleted.

Will doing the research help you?

I hope that taking part in this study will help you and your parents to reflect about how smartphone use impacts on your relationship with your parents and your wider family relationships potentially leading to an improved awareness about positive and negative implications of mobile phone use.

Please note:

- You can choose not to answer any particular questions if you do not wish to do so.

- Your details will be kept anonymous. The results could be published in a report, blog, journal article or book but you will not be identified in any way in these publications.
- Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary.
- You have the right to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.
- You have the right to ask for your data to be withdrawn.
- All computer data files will be encrypted and password protected. The researcher will keep files in a secure place and will comply with the requirements of the Data Protection Act.
- All hard copy documents, e.g. consent forms, completed surveys, etc. will be kept securely and in a locked cupboard. Documents may be scanned and stored electronically. This may be done to enable secure transmission of data to the university's secure computer systems.
- If you wish and this was deemed appropriate by your parents, you can receive information on the results of the research. Please indicate on the consent form if you would like to receive this information.
- I can be contacted during and after participation by email at w1617249@my.westminster.ac.uk.
- If you have a complaint about this research project you can contact the project supervisor, Dr Alessandro D'arma by email at A.Darma@westminster.ac.uk.

Appendix III: Information Sheet for Parents

Title of study: **The implications of smartphone-use on parent-child and family relationships: The case of Turkish-speaking community in London**

Researcher: Ergin Yaman, University of Westminster

Supervisor: Dr Alessandro D'arma, University of Westminster

My research aims to explore how smartphone use (both parents' and children's use if they own a smartphone or use their parent/s' smartphone frequently) affects the communication, interaction, quality-time spending and bond between children and their parents and family members within Turkish-speaking community in London. It also aims to explore the ways smartphones can be helpful for children in areas such as their learning, entertainment, and contact with their parents as well as their family members who may live outside of the UK. As such, I would like to invite you to take part in this study. In this information sheet, I will try and answer any questions you might have about the study.

Why is this study being done?

Smartphones have become popular devices transforming people's lives thanks to their various functions, easy portability and other benefits that come with internet connection. Despite this, how smartphones affect parents' and children's communication, interaction, quality-time spending and bond has only recently begun to receive some attention whilst the research that has been encountered with respect to the use of mobile phones within ethnic-communities has been found to be mainly on immigration and mothers who have to leave their children behind to work in another country to provide for their children and families. This research aims to further contribute to the available research by exploring how smartphone use is impacting on parent-child and child-family communication, interaction, quality-time spending and bond within an ethnic community, namely Turkish-speaking community in London, whereby children and parents live together. It also aims to explore the ways parents and children think mobile phones can be helpful including children's learning, entertainment, and contact with their parents as well as

their family members who may live outside of the UK. This will help me to gain a better understanding about the positive and negative impacts of mobile phones on parent-child and child-family relationships whilst potentially raising awareness within the community in this respect.

What will this study involve if you decide to take part in it?

1) Participating in an interview with me

- around your socio-demographic characteristics (e.g. age, your education level, how long you have been living in the UK etc.) alongside some information about your mobile phone use habits (e.g. frequency and nature of use).
- how in your experience smartphone use impacts on your relationship with your parents in areas such as parent-child communication, parental presence, availability and attentiveness and parent-child time
- to explore the uses of smartphones when it comes to your children's learning, their entertainment, their contact with you when you are not together as well as their contact with their family members who may live outside of the UK. This will take about 1 hour and will be recorded. The recording will be transcribed and the audio recording deleted.

2) Your children (aged 8 and over) participating in an interview with me to get their views in relation to the above outlined areas. This will take about 1 hour and will be recorded. The recording will be transcribed and the audio recording deleted.

Will doing the research help you?

I hope that taking part in this study will help you and your children to reflect about how smartphone use impacts on your relationship with your parents and your wider family relationships potentially leading to improved awareness about positive and negative implications of mobile phone use.

Please note:

- You can choose not to answer any particular questions if you do not wish to do so.

- Your details will be kept anonymous. The results could be published in a report, blog, journal article or book but you will not be identified in any way in these publications.
- Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary.
- You have the right to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.
- You have the right to ask for your data to be withdrawn.
- All computer data files will be encrypted and password protected. The researcher will keep files in a secure place and will comply with the requirements of the Data Protection Act.
- All hard copy documents, e.g. consent forms, completed surveys, etc. will be kept securely and in a locked cupboard. Documents may be scanned and stored electronically. This may be done to enable secure transmission of data to the university's secure computer systems.
- If you wish and this was deemed appropriate by your parents, you can receive information on the results of the research. Please indicate on the consent form if you would like to receive this information.
- I can be contacted during and after participation by email at w1617249@my.westminster.ac.uk.
- If you have a complaint about this research project you can contact the project supervisor, Dr Alessandro D'arma by email at A.Darma@westminster.ac.uk.

Appendix IV: Consent Form for Children

Title of Study: **The implications of smartphone-use on parent-child and family relationships: The case of Turkish-speaking community in London**

Researcher: Ergin Yaman, University of Westminster

I have been given the Participation Information Sheet and had its contents explained to me. Yes

I have had an opportunity to ask any questions and I am satisfied with the answers given. Yes

I understand I have a right to withdraw from the research at any time and I do not have to provide a reason. Yes

I wish to receive a copy of this Consent form. Yes

I confirm I am willing to be a participant in the above research study. Yes

I would like to receive information about the results of the research if my parent/s give consent for this. Yes

I understand the study is anonymous. My identity will be kept confidential and no one reading about my answers will know who I am. The results of the study could be published (e.g., in a report, blog, journal article or book). My name will not be used and will not be identifiable in any written reports from this study. Yes

Child/Young Person's Name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

I confirm I have provided a copy of the Participant Information Sheet approved by the Research Ethics Committee to the participant and fully explained its contents. I have given the participant an opportunity to ask questions, which have been answered.

Researcher's Name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix V: Parental Consent Form for Children

Title of Study: **The implications of smartphone-use on parent-child and family relationships: The case of Turkish-speaking community in London**

Researcher: Ergin Yaman, University of Westminster

I have been given a copy of the Participation Information Sheet and had its contents explained to me. I understand the purpose of research and give my consent for:

Child/Young Person's Name: _____

who is under the age of 18 years and in my care, to participate in the above research study.

I have had an opportunity to ask any questions and I am satisfied with the answers given. Yes

I understand that both I and the participant named above have a right to withdraw from the research at any time with no need to give any reason. Yes

I wish to receive a copy of this Consent form. Yes

I am happy for my child to receive information about the results of the research if this is their wish. Yes

I understand the study is anonymous. My child's identity will be kept confidential and no one reading about my child's answers will be able to identify who they are. The results of the study could be published (e.g., in a report, blog, journal article or book). My child's name will not be used and will not be identifiable in any written reports from this study. Yes

Parent/Carer's Name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

I confirm I have provided a copy of the Participant Information Sheet approved by the Research Ethics Committee to the participant and fully explained its contents. I have given the participant an opportunity to ask questions, which have been answered.

Researcher's Name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix VI: Consent Form for Parents

Title of Study: **The implications of smartphone-use on parent-child and family relationships: The case of Turkish-speaking community in London**

Researcher: Ergin Yaman, University of Westminster

I have been given the Participation Information Sheet and had its contents explained to me. Yes

I have had an opportunity to ask any questions and I am satisfied with the answers given. Yes

I understand I have a right to withdraw from the research at any time and I do not have to provide a reason. Yes

I wish to receive a copy of this Consent form. Yes

I confirm I am willing to be a participant in the above research study. Yes

I would like to receive information about the results of the research. Yes

I understand the study is anonymous. My identity will be kept confidential and no one reading about my answers will know who I am. The results of the study could be published (e.g., in a report, blog, journal article or book). My name will not be used and will not be identifiable in any written reports from this study. Yes

Participant's Name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

I confirm I have provided a copy of the Participant Information Sheet approved by the Research Ethics Committee to the participant and fully explained its contents. I have given the participant an opportunity to ask questions, which have been answered.

Researcher's Name: _____

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix VII: Interview Guide for Interviews with Children

1. Socio-demographic characteristics

- 1.1. Age
- 1.2. Place of birth & upbringing.
- 1.3. Education

2. Smartphone use

- 2.1. The main areas of smartphone use and the average time spent on smartphones per day?
- 2.2. Feelings in relation to the smartphone use habits (e.g. the time spent on the phone, main areas of use) and how this impacts on daily life (e.g. home life, school life, social life) in general?
- 2.3. Experiences/feelings when without smartphone or unable to use smartphone?
- 2.4. Views as to whether smartphones have a role in their learning or entertainment?
- 2.5. Any self-imposed rules or home rules around smartphone use?

3. Smartphone use and parent-child relationship

- 3.1. Connotations of the words “smartphones” and “children/young people” for them?
- 3.2. Connotations of the words “smartphones”, “parents” and “children/young people” for them when all the three are considered together?
- 3.3. Feelings/views about parental smartphone use? Any reactions shown to parents regarding their smartphone use?
- 3.4. Feelings/thoughts as to how their relationship with their parents’ smartphone use? In the sense of,
 - Attention/attentiveness
 - Communication
 - Spending time together
 - Responding to their emotional and other needs
 - Doing activities together

3.5. Differences in parent-child relationship when their smartphone use is low and high? Differences in their relationship when their parents' smartphone use is low and high?

3.6. What do they think their parents' feelings/views are about their own smartphone use? What are their reactions like? What feelings do these reactions trigger?

3.7. Would they want their parents' current smartphone use/habits to be any different to how it is now? If so, how?

3.8. Would they want their own smartphone use to be different to how it is now? If so, how?

4. Smartphone use and connection with extended family members in Turkey

4.1. Family members that live in Turkey with whom they are in regular contact with?

4.2. The role of smartphones in their communication with these family members? How do they usually communicate, i.e. voice call, video call, SMS?

4.3. How does this contact impact on them and whether it has any subsequent impact on their relationship with their parents?

4.4. In what language are children accessing content (music, films, news, information etc.) on smartphones?

Appendix VIII: Interview Guide for Interviews with Parents

1. Socio-demographic characteristics

- 1.1. Age
- 1.2. Marital status
- 1.3. Place of birth and upbringing
- 1.4. Education/Employment

2. Smartphone use

- 2.1. The main areas of smartphone use / average time spent on smartphone per day?
- 2.2. Feelings in relation to the individual smartphone use habits and views about how individual smartphone use/habits are impacting on daily life?
- 2.3. Experiences/feelings when without smartphone or not able to use smartphone?
- 2.4. Any self-imposed rules or home rules around smartphone use?

3. Smartphone use and parent-child relationship

- 3.1. Connotations of the words “smartphones”, “parents” and “children/young people” for them when all the three words are considered together?
- 3.2. Feelings/thoughts as to how their relationship with their children is impacted by their individual and children’s smartphone use? In the sense of,
 - Attention/attentiveness
 - Responding to their emotional and other needs
 - Doing activities together
 - Spending time together
 - Communication
- 3.3. Differences in their relationship with their children when their smartphone use is high and low, also when they are busy on their smartphone in their presence and when they aren’t?
- 3.4. Views/feelings about children’s smartphone use? Reactions shown due to smartphone use? Feelings these reactions trigger?

3.5. Differences in their relationship with their children when their children's smartphone is high and low and when they are busy with their smartphones in their presence and when they aren't?

3.6. What do they think their children's feelings/views are about their (parents') smartphone use? Has there been times their children have shown reactions about their smartphone use? What were these reactions like and what feelings did these reactions trigger?

3.7. Views and feelings about how smartphone use is impacting on children in terms of home life, school life, health, entertainment and learning?

Whether they feel smartphones have a role in their children's learning and entertainment?

3.8. Would they want their child/children's smartphone use to be any different to how it is now? If so, how?

3.9. Would they want their own smartphone use to be any different to how it is now? If so, how?

4. Smartphone use and connection with extended family members in Turkey

4.1. Family members that live in Turkey with whom their children are in regular contact with?

4.2. The role of smartphones in their children's communication with these family members? How do they usually communicate, i.e. voice call, video call, SMS?

4.3. How does this contact impact on their children and whether it has any subsequent impact on their children's relationship with them?

4.4. Whether children are accessing content (music, films, news, information etc.) in Turkish? Smartphones' role in this? How do they feel about their children accessing content in Turkish?

Appendix IX: Coding Frame

Children's smartphone use, its implications and managing smartphone use (theme)

Patterns of children smartphone use (category)

- Entertainment
- Learning
- Communication
- Social media

Smartphones and non-educational use (category)

- A waste of time
- Time-consuming
- Useless
- Discontent

Smartphones and children's learning (category)

Positive feelings

- Watching educational videos (maths, science videos)
- Playing educational games (timetable games)
- Searching info - google
- Completing homework
- Calling friends for homework
- Learning new techniques
- Using calculator
- Watching informative channels
- A source for learning Turkish

Negative feelings

- Harmful for brain
- Source of distraction from learning
- Decline in attainment
- No longer reading books
- Absorption leading to lack of studying
- Sleep deprivation and subsequent sleeping in lessons
- Unable to concentrate
- Stuck to the phone, not doing homework

Smartphones and its impact on children's health (category)

- Sleep deprivation
- Lack of movement
- Gaining weight
- Feeling tired throughout the day
- Delayed sleeping

- Hands feeling fuzzy
- Feeling sick
- Getting headaches
- Lack of energy as result of excessive use
- Less in person interactions
- Eyes going red
- Worry over potential health issues

Managing children's smartphone use (category)

- No rules
- Verbal discouragement
- Not getting home broadband
- Switching off internet
- Not taking phones into their room
- Hiding the phone but not working
- Changing password but not working
- Gave up on rules

Common wish for less use

- A lot of use
- Struggling to control use
- Feelings of being carried along
- Wish for limited time
- Wanting to focus on school work instead
- Less time speaking to friends on the phone
- Wanting to improve subjects instead
- Wanting to help parents instead

Parents' smartphone-use (theme)

Patterns of parents' smartphone use (category)

- Communication
- Accessing information
- Accessing social media apps
- Entertainment

Parents' and children's views about parental smartphone use (category)

- Too much use
- Waste of time
- Addictive
- Distracting
- Changing habits
- Sense of guilt, discontent and dissatisfaction
- Not being good role models for their children

Common wish for less use and different use

- Wish for spending less time on the phone

- Wish for spending less time on social media
- Wanting to get rid of social media apps
- Wish for getting rid of the smartphone
- Wanting to use for communication only
- Wanting to stay away from the phone
- Wanting to spend time with children instead
- Wanting to support their children with their learning instead

Parent-child and family relationships

Parent-child and family time (theme)

Disconnection (category)

- Interference with daily experiences of sharing, sitting together, sharing the same space (e.g. the living room, dinner table) and having conversations.
- Separating (code)
- Distancing
- Dividing
- Disconnecting
- Cut from each other
- Detached
- Reduced sharing
- Lonely

Connection (category)

- Together
- Sitting together
- Talking together
- Doing things together
-

Parent-child communication (theme)

Active listening/communication (category)

- Active Listening
- Getting to talk
- Happy feelings

Non-active listening/communication (category)

- Non-active listening
- Not getting to talk
- Reactions to parental/child smartphone use
- Conversations getting interrupted

Relationship difficulties (theme)

Relationship difficulties (category)

- Frustration
- Conflict
- Tension
- Arguing
- Unhappy feelings

Parenting (theme)

Active parenting (category)

- Attentive
- Involved
- Aware
- Available
- Appropriate supervision
- Checking in

Non-active parenting (category)

- Unaware
- Unavailable
- Non-attentive
- Lack of supervision
- Interruption

Smartphones' role in children's contact with family members in Turkey (theme)

Why important? (category)

- Get to see them as don't get to visit them often
- Not to lose ties, contact
- Feeling closer
- Able to check on their well-being
- Emotional support
- Helps improving family relationships

Source of positive feelings and subsequent interaction between children and parents (category)

- Lightens up the mood
- Everyone feeling happy
- Feeling excited
- Feeling involved/connected with them
- Enjoyable experience
- Feeling of not wasted time and done something good

Bibliography

- Abel, J. D. (1976). The Family and Child Television Viewing. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 38 (2), 331-335. doi:10.2307/350392
- Ainsworth M. D. (1973). The development of infant-mother attachment. In: Cardwell B., Ricciuti H. (eds), *Review of Child Development Research*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press).
- Alvarez-Garcia, D., Garcia, T., C'ueli, M. and Niuiez, J.C. (2019). Parental control of internet use by adolescents: Evolution and gender differences. *Revista Iberoamericana de Diagnostico y Evaluacion Psicologica*. 51 (2), 19-31.
- Anderson, J. (1939). The Radio and Child Development. *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 21 (7), 316-318. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20258896>
- Ante-Contreras, D. (2016). *Distracted parenting: How social media affects parent-child attachment* (Unpublished master's thesis). San Bernardino, CA: California State University.
- Aroldi, P., and Vittadini, N. (2017). Children's rights and social media: Issues and prospects for adoptive families in Italy. *New Media & Society*, 19(5), 741–749. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816686324>
- Aroldi, P., and Ponte, C. (Eds.) (2013). *Children's Cultures and Media Cultures / Special issue of CM - ČASOPIS ZA UPRAVLJANJE KOMUNICIRANJEM - COMMUNICATION MANAGEMENT QUARTERLY (29, VIII, 2013)*. CDC Communication Direction Center Novi Sad / Faculty of Political Science Beograd.
- Aroldi, P., Vittadini, N., and Milesi, D. (2013). New-generation Ties: Identity, Social Relations and Digital Technologies among 2G Migrants in Italy. *Observatorio*, 61-88.
- Bandeoğlu, Z. (2016). MARAŞ OLAYLARININ BÜTÜNSEL YAKLAŞIM MODELİ İLE ANALİZİ. <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/odusobiad/issue/27575/290224>
- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social Learning Theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ:Prentice Hall.
- Baumrind, D. (1991). The Influence of Parenting Style on Adolescent Competence and Substance Use. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 11 (1), 56–95. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02724316911111004>

- Baumrind D. (2005). Patterns of parental authority and adolescent autonomy. *New directions for child and adolescent development*, (108), 61–69. <https://doi.org/10.1002/cd.128>
- Bauwens, J., Pauwels, C., Lobet-Maris, C., Pouillet, Y. and Walrave, M. (2009). *Cyberteens, cyber risks, cybertools. Tieners en ICT, risico's en opportunititeiten*. Gent: Federaal Wetenschapsbeleid/ Academia Press.
- BBC (2018). I wish mum's phone was never invented: *BBC*. Available from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/blogs-trending-44224319> accessed on 01.12.2018
- Bell, R.Q. (1968). A reinterpretation of the direction of effects in studies of socialization. *Psychological Review*, 75, 81–95.
- Blackman, A. (2015). Screen time for parents and caregivers: Parental screen distraction and parenting perceptions and beliefs (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). New York, NY: Pace University. Retrieved from: <https://search.proquest.com/openview/a81e7baee4baae51aae88b2fa49ac984/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y>
- Blackburn, C. and Read, J. (2005). Using the Internet? The experiences of parents of disabled children. *Child Care Health Dev.*, 31 (5), 507-15. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2214.2005.00541.x>
- Blackwell, L., Gardiner, E., and Schoenebeck, S. (2016). Managing Expectations: Technology Tensions among Parents and Teens. *Proceedings of the 19th ACM Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing*.
- Bleakley, A., Jordan, A. B., and Hennesy, M. (2013). The Relationship between Parents' and Children's Television Viewing. *PEDIATRICS* (ISSN Numbers: Print, 0031-4005; Online, 1098-4275). doi:10.1542/peds.2012-3415
- Boles, R., and Roberts, M. C. (2008). Supervising children during parental distractions. *Journal of Pediatric Psychology*, 33 (8), 833-41. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/jpepsy/jsn021>
- Bonini, T. (2011). The media as 'home-making' tools: life story of a Filipino migrant in Milan. *Media, Culture & Society*, 33(6), 869–883. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443711411006>
- Boyd, D. (2012). 'Participating in the Always-On Lifestyle' In: Mandiberg, E (ed.) *The Social Media Reader*. New York: New York University Press. Pp. 71–76.

- <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/westminster/detail.action?docID=865738>. Created from Westminster on 2021-04-19 04:19:26.
- Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and Loss* Vol. 1: Attachment. New York: Basic Books
- Buckingham, D. (2006). Is there a digital generation? In: Buckingham, D. and Willett, R. (Eds.), *Digital generations: Children, young people, and new media*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1–18.
- Cabello-Hutt, T., Cabello, P., and Claro, M. (2018). Online opportunities and risks for children and adolescents: The role of digital skills, age, gender and parental mediation in Brazil. *New Media & Society*, 20 (7), 2411–2431. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817724168>
- Cakmak, M. (2021). "Take Me Back to My Homeland Dead or Alive!": The Myth of Return Among London's Turkish-Speaking Community. *Frontiers in sociology*, 6, 630558. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2021.630558>
- Campbell, S.W. and Park Y.J. (2000). Social Implications of Mobile Telephony: The Rise of Personal Communication Society. *Sociology Compass*. 2 (2) 371–387, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2007.00080.x>
- Carbonell, X., Oberst, U., and Beranuy, M. (2013). The cell phone in the twenty-first century: A risk for addiction or a necessary tool? In: Miller, P. (Eds.). *Principles of addiction: Comprehensive addictive behaviors and disorders*. New York: Academic Press, 901–909.
- Carpenter, R. W., and Trull, T. J. (2013). Components of emotion dysregulation in borderline personality disorder: a review. *Current psychiatry reports*, 15 (1), 335. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11920-012-0335-2>
- Cappello M. (ed.) (2015). *The protection of minors in a converged media environment*, IRIS plus, European Audiovisual Observatory, Strasbourg.
- Castells, M., Fernández-Ardèvol, M., Qiu, J. and Sey, A. (2006). Mobile Communication and Society: A Global Perspective. 10.1111/j.1944-8287.2008.tb00398.x.
- Cetin, U. (2016). Durkheim, ethnography and suicide: Researching young male suicide in the transnational London Alevi-Kurdish community. *Ethnography*, 17 (2), 250–277. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1466138115586583>
- Chen, V.H.H., and Chng, G.S. (2016). Active and restrictive parental mediation over time: Effects on youths' self-regulatory competencies and impulsivity, *Computers & Education*, 98, 206-212. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2016.03.012>

- Chib, A., Malik, S., Aricat, R. G., and Kadir, S. Z. (2014). Migrant mothering and mobile phones: Negotiations of transnational identity. *Mobile Media & Communication*, 2(1), 73–93. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2050157913506007>
- Chiu, C.-T., Chang, Y.-H., Chen, C.-C., Ko, M.-C., and Li, C.Y. (2014). Mobile phone use and health symptoms in children. *Journal of the Formosan Medical Association*, 114 (7), July 2015, Pages 598-604 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jfma.2014.07.002>
- Choi, Y., He, M., and Harachi, T. W. (2008). Intergenerational Cultural Dissonance, Parent-Child Conflict and Bonding, and Youth Problem Behaviors among Vietnamese and Cambodian Immigrant Families. *Journal of youth and adolescence*, 37 (1), 85–96. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-007-9217-z>
- Clark, L. S., Demont-HeSinrich, C., and Weber, S. (2005). Parents, ICT, and children’s prospects for success: Interviews along the digital “access rainbow”. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 22 (5), 409–426.
- Comstock, G. (1975). Effects of Television on Children: What is the Evidence? Paper presented at the Telecommunications Policy Research Conference (Airlie, Virginia, April 16-19, 1975). <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED111348.pdf>
- Cook, W.L. (2001). Interpersonal influence in family systems: A social relations model analysis. *Child Development*, 72, 1179–1197.
- Collins, W. A., Raby, K. L., and Causadias, J. (2011). Transformations in close relationship networks: Parent-child relationships and their social extensions: From adolescence to young adulthood. In B. Laursen, & W. A. Collins (Eds.), *Relationship pathways: From adolescence to young adulthood* New York, NY: Guilford.
- Couldry, N., Hepp, A. (2013). Conceptualizing Mediatization: Contexts, Traditions, Arguments, *Communication Theory*, 23 (3), 191–202, <https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12019>
- Craft, A. (2012). Childhood in a digital age: Creative challenges for educational futures. *London Review of Education*, 10 (2) 173-190. [10.1080/14748460.2012.691282](https://doi.org/10.1080/14748460.2012.691282).
- Crul, M., and Doornik J. (2003). The Turkish and Moroccan Second Generation in the Netherlands: Divergent Trends between and Polarization within the Two Groups. *International Migration Review*. 37(4):1039-1064. [doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2003.tb00169.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2003.tb00169.x)
- D’Angelo, A., Galip, O., Kaye, N. and Lorinc, M. (2013). *Welfare needs of Turkish and Kurdish communities in London: A community based research project*. SPRC Middlesex University, Day-Mer.

- Daglar, M., Melhuish, E. and Barnes, J. (2011). 'Parenting and preschool child behaviour among Turkish immigrant, migrant and non-migrant families', *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 8 (3) 261 — 279. doi: 10.1080/17405621003710827
- Dayan, D. and Katz, E. (1994). *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History*, Harvard University Press, 1994. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/westminster/detail.action?docID=3300752>.
- Demir, I. (2012). Battling with *Memleket* in London: The Kurdish Diaspora's Engagement with Turkey, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38:5, 815-831, DOI: [10.1080/1369183X.2012.667996](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2012.667996)
- D'Haenens, L. and Ogan, C. (2013). Internet-using children and digital Inequality: A comparison between majority and minority Europeans. *Communications*, 38 (1), 41–60.
- Denscombe, M. (2010). *The Good Research Guide for small-scale social research projects*. Fourth Edition. Open University Press.
- De Nardis, L. (2013). *The Emerging Field of Internet Governance*. The Oxford Handbook of Internet Studies.
- Denzin, N. K., and Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research*. In: Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (p. 1–32). Sage Publications Ltd.
- Dekker, R. and Engbersen, G. (2012). How social media transform migrant networks and facilitate migration. *International Migration Institute*, 64. <https://www.migrationinstitute.org/publications/wp-64-12>
- Derks, D. and Bakker, A. B. (2014). Smartphone Use, Work–Home Interference, and Burnout: A Diary Study on the Role of Recovery. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 63 (3), 411-440 doi: 10.1111/j.1464-0597.2012. 00530.x
- Devitt, K. and Roker, D. (2009). The Role of Mobile Phones in Family Communication. *Children & Society*, 23, 189–202.
- DiMaggio, P., Hargittai, E., Neuman, W., and Robinson, J. (2001). Social Implications of the Internet. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27, 307-336. Available from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2678624>
- DiMaggio, P. and Garip, F. (2012). Network effects and social inequality. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 38, 93–118. https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/garip/files/dimaggio_garip_2012.pdf

- Dillon-Malone, P. (1965). The Impact of Television: A Review of Research Findings. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 54(214/215), 152-161. Retrieved April 25, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30089004>
- Dimmick, J., Feaster, J. C. and Hoplamazian, G. J. (2011). News in the interstices: The niches of mobile media in space and time. *New Media & Society*, 13 (1), 23–39.
- Divan, H. A., Kheifets, L., Obel, C. and Olsen, J. (2012). Cell phone use and behavioural problems in young children. *Journal of epidemiology and community health*, 66(6), 524–529. <https://doi.org/10.1136/jech.2010.115402>
- Du Bois-Reymond, M. (1999). Conflict and negotiation in the family. In: Sagel-Grande, H.I. and Polack, M. V. (Eds.), *Models of conflict resolution* (pp. 79 –84). Antwerpen: Maklu.
- Duggan, M., Lenhart, A., Lampe, C. and Ellison, N.B. (2015). “*Parents and Social Media.*” Pew Research Center. Available from <http://www.pewinternet.org/2015/07/16/parents-and-social-media/>
- Dupagne, M. and Swalden, M. B. (2005). ‘Communication technology adoption and ethnicity’, *Howard Journal of Communication*, (16) 21–32.
- Edemir, A. and Vasta, E. (2007). *Differentiating irregularity and solidarity: immigrants at work in London*. ESRC Centre on Migration, *Policy and Society* Working Paper No. 42, University of Oxford.
- Elo, S. and Kyngas, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 62 (1), 107–115 DOI: 10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x
- Enneli, P., Modood, T. and Bradley, H. (2005) *Young Turks and Kurds: A Set of ‘Invisible’ Disadvantaged Groups*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Erlingsson, C., and Brysiewicz, P. (2017). A hands-on guide to doing content analysis. *African Journal of Emergency Medicine*, 7 (3), 93-99 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.afjem.2017.08.001>
- Enfield Council (2012). *Communities, Communications, Policy and Performance Briefing Note*. Available from <https://new.enfield.gov.uk/services/your-council/about-enfield/census-and-socio-economic-information/about-enfield-information-2011-census-ethnicity-language-faith-country-of-origin.pdf>
- Escobar, J. Q. (2010). *Transnational mothers and the construction of alternative meanings of motherhood* (Unpublished master’s thesis). Indiana University, USA.
- EU Kids Online (2014). *EU Kids Online: Findings, Methods and Recommendations*. <https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/60512/1/EU%20Kids%20online%20III%20.pdf>

- Fairlie, R. W. (2007). 'Explaining differences in access to home computers and the Internet: a comparison of Latino groups to other ethnic and racial groups', *Electronic Commerce Research*, (7), 265–291.
- Flick, U. (2007). *Designing Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications Ltd.
- Fujioka, Y., and Austin, E. W. (2002). The relationship of family communication patterns to parental mediation styles. *Communication Research*, 29 (6), 642–66
- Gauntlett, D. and Hill, A. (1999). *TV Living: Television, Culture and Everyday Life*, Taylor & Francis Group. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/westminster/detail.action?docID=165172>.
- Created from Westminster on 2021-04-19 05:27:56.
- Gergen, K. J. (2002). "The Challenge Of Absent Presence". *Perpetual Contact: Mobile Communication, Private Talk, Public Performance*. 227-241. DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511489471.018 <https://works.swarthmore.edu/fac-psychology/569>
- Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M. and Signorielli, N. (1980). *Media and The Family: Images and Impact: An overview paper prepared for the National Research Forum on Family Issues sponsored by the White House Conference on Families, Washington D.C., The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, April 10-11; 1980.*
- Gordano Peile, C. and Ros Hajar, A. (2016). Immigrants and mobile phone uses: Spanish-speaking young adults recently arrived in London. *Mobile Media & Communication*, 4(3), 405–423. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2050157916655375>
- Gray, M. and Steinberg, L. (1999). Unpacking Authoritative Parenting: Reassessing a Multidimensional Construct. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 61(3), 574-587. doi:10.2307/353561
- Greater London Authority, (2009). *Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish Cypriot communities in London*. London: Greater London Authority. Available from www.london.gov.uk.
- Greenhaus, J. and Beutell, N. (1985). Sources of Conflict between Work and Family Roles. *The Academy of Management Review*, 10(1), 76-88. doi:10.2307/258214
- Green, N. (2002). On the move: Technology, mobility, and the mediation of social time and space. *The information society*, 18 (4), 281–292.

- Greenfield, P. and Beagles-Roos, J. (1988). Radio vs. television: Their cognitive impact on children of different socioeconomic and ethnic groups. *Journal of Communication*, 38 (2), 71–92. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1988.tb02048.x>
- Guralnick, M.J. (1999). Family and child influences on the peer-related social competence of young children with developmental delays. *Dev Dis Res Rev.*, 5 (1), 21–29. [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1098-2779\(1999\)5:1<21::AID-MRDD3>3.0.CO;2-O](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1098-2779(1999)5:1<21::AID-MRDD3>3.0.CO;2-O)
- Hackney Council (2013). *A Profile of Hackney, its People and Place*. [file:///home/chronos/u-e0e98c8b4b9eef7f05bfdb2e1e65248cbad587a2/MyFiles/Downloads/Hackney%20Profile%20\(2\).pdf](file:///home/chronos/u-e0e98c8b4b9eef7f05bfdb2e1e65248cbad587a2/MyFiles/Downloads/Hackney%20Profile%20(2).pdf)
- Haddon, L. and Silverstone, R. (2000). Information and communication technologies and everyday life: individual and social dimensions. In: Ducatel, K., Webster, J. and Herrman, W. (Eds.) *The Information Society in Europe: Work and Life in an Age of Globalization. Critical media studies*. Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, MD, 233-258. ISBN 9780847695904
- Hammarberg, K., Kirkman, M., and de Lacey, S. (2016). Qualitative research methods: when to use them and how to judge them. *Human Reproduction*, 31 (3), 498-501, <https://doi.org/10.1093/humrep/dev334>
- Hamrin-Dahl, T. (2006). The Alevi and questions of identity, including violence and insider/outsider perspectives. *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis*. 19. 108-125. [10.30674/scripta.67304](https://doi.org/10.30674/scripta.67304).
- Hardell, L. (2018). Effects of Mobile Phones on Children's and Adolescents' Health: *A Commentary*. *Child Dev*, 89 (1), 137-140. doi: 10.1111/cdev.12831. Epub 2017 May 15. PMID: 28504422.
- Harkness, S., Super, C. M., and van Tijen, N. (2000). *Individualism and the "Western mind" reconsidered: American and Dutch parents' ethnotheories of the child*. In Harkness, S., Raeff, C. and Super, C. M. (Eds.), *New directions for child and adolescent development, No. 87. Variability in the social construction of the child* (23–39). Jossey-Bass.
- Hart, C. H., Newell, L. D., and Olsen, S. F. (2003). *Parenting skills and social-communicative competence in childhood*. In: Greene, J. O. and Burleson, B. R. (Eds.), *Handbook of communication and social interaction skills* (p. 753–797). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

- Hasebrink, U., Livingstone, S., Haddon, L. and Ólafsson, K. (2009). *Comparing children's online opportunities and risks across Europe: Cross-national comparisons for EU Kids Online*. LSE, London: EU Kids Online
- Haslam, D.M., Tee, A. and Baker, S. (2017). The Use of Social Media as a Mechanism of Social Support in Parents. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*. 26 (7), 2026–2037.
- Hawkins, J. D. and Weis, J. G. (1985). The social development model: An integrated approach to delinquency prevention. *The journal of primary prevention*, 6 (2), 73–97. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01325432>
- Hepp, A. (2014). Communicative Figurations: Researching Cultures of Mediatization, *Zeszyty PRASOZNAWCZE Kraków*, 2 (218), 145–161.
- Hepp, A. and Krotz, F. (2014): Mediatized Worlds – Understanding Everyday Mediatization. In: Hepp, Andreas/Krotz, Friedrich (Eds.): *Mediatized Worlds. Culture and Society in a Media Age*. Houndmills/Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 1-15. <https://r1.vlereader.com/Reader?ean=9781137300355#>
- Hiniker, A., Sobel, K., Suh, H., Sung, Y., Lee, C., and Kientz, J. (2015). Texting while Parenting: How Adults Use Mobile Phones while Caring for Children at the Playground. *Proceedings of the 33rd Annual ACM Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*.
- Hiniker, A., Schoenebeck, S., and Kientz, J. (2016). Not at the Dinner Table: Parents' and Children's Perspectives on Family Technology Rules. *Proceedings of the 19th ACM Conference on Computer-Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing*.
- Hoikkala, T. (2004). *Global Youth Media as New Forms of Socialization*. Presentation at United Nations Workshop on Global Youth Culture, New York
- Hopkins, L. and Fiaz, R. (2009). *The Turkish and Turkish Cypriot Muslim Community in England*.
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330967591> The Turkish and Turkish Cypriot Muslim Community in England
- Horrigan, J. (2009). *The mobile difference: Wireless connectivity has drawn many users more deeply into digital life*. Pew Internet & American Life Project.
- Hosokawa, R. and Katsura, T. (2018). Association between mobile technology use and child adjustment in early elementary school age. *PloS one*, 13(7), e0199959. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0199959>

- Hughes, R. and Hans, J. D. (2001). Computers, the Internet, and Families: A Review of the Role New Technology Plays in Family Life. *Journal of Family Issues*, 22(6), 776–790. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019251301022006006>
- Holloway, D. (2004). Media Technologies and the Reconfiguration of the Everyday Family Home. Conference Paper.
- Holloway, I. (1997). *Basic Concepts for Qualitative Research*. Oxford. Blackwell Science.
- Howard, P., Rainie, L. and Jones, S. (2001). Days and Nights on the Internet. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 45, 383 - 404.
- Hsieh, H. F., and Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative health research*, 15 (9), 1277–1288. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687>
- International Telecommunication Union (2019). Mobile cellular subscriptions. <https://www.itu.int/en/ITU-D/Statistics/Pages/stat/default.aspx>
- Jarvenpaa, S. L. and Lang, K. R. (2005). Managing the paradoxes of mobile technology. *Information Systems Management*, 22 (4), 7–23.
- Jackson, L. A., Von Eye, A., Barbatsis, G., Biocca, F., Zhao, Y. and Fitzgerald, H. E. (2003). Internet attitudes and Internet use: Some surprising findings from the HomeNetTOO project. *International Journal of Human–Computer Studies*, 59, 355–382.
- Janssen, M. M., Verhulst, F. C., Bengi-Arslan, L., Erol, N., Salter, C. J., and Crijnen, A. A. (2004). Comparison of self-reported emotional and behavioural problems in Turkish Immigrant, Dutch and Turkish adolescents. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 39, 133–140
- Jennings, N. (2017). Media and Families: Looking Ahead. *Journal of Family Communication*, 17 (3), 203-207, DOI: 10.1080/15267431.2017.1322972
- Johnson, D. (2017). Parents’ perceptions of smartphone use and parenting practices. UNLV Theses, Dissertations, Professional Papers, and Capstones. Available from <https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/thesesdissertations/3141>
- Jordan, B. and Duvell, F. (2002). *Irregular Migration. The Dilemmas of Transnational Mobility*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar
- Kagitcibasi, C. (2002). A Model of Family Change in Cultural Context. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 6 (3). <https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1059>

- Kennedy et al., (2008). *Networked Families. Parents and spouses are using the internet and cell phones to create a “new connectedness” that builds on remote connections and shared internet experiences.* Pew Internet and American Life Project.
- Kerr, M., and Stattin, H. (2000). What parents know, how they know it, and several forms of adolescent adjustment: Further support for a reinterpretation of monitoring, *Developmental Psychology*, 36 (3), 366–380. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.36.3.366>
- Kildare, C. and Middlemiss, W. (2017). Impact of parents mobile device use on parent-child interaction: A literature review. *Comput. Hum. Behav.*, 75, 579-593.
- Kiesler, S., Zdaniuk, B., Lundmark, V. and Kraut, R. (2000). Troubles with the Internet: The dynamics of help at home. *Human–Computer Interaction*, 15, 322–351
- Kim, Y.-C., Jung, J.-Y., and Ball-Rokeach, S. J. (2007). Ethnicity, place and communication technology: Effects of ethnicity on multidimensional internet connectedness. *Information Technology & People*, 20 (3), 282–303.
- Kiesler, S., Zdaniuk, B., Lundmark, V. and Kraut, R. (2000). Troubles with the Internet: The Dynamics of Help at Home. *Human–Computer Interaction*, 15, 323 - 351.
- Köffer, S., Anlauf, L., Ortbach, K. and Niehaves, B. (2015). "The Intensified Blurring of Boundaries between Work and Private Life through IT Consumerisation". *ECIS 2015 Completed Research Papers*. Paper 108. ISBN 978-3-00-050284-2 <http://aisel.aisnet.org/ecis2015>
- Kotchick, B.A. and Forehand, R. (2002). Putting parenting in perspective: A discussion of the contextual factors that shape parenting practices. *Journal of Child & Family Studies*, 11, 255–269.
- Kraut, R., Patterson, M., Lundmark, V., Kiesler, S., Mukopadhyay, T., and Scherlis, W. (1998). Internet paradox. A social technology that reduces social involvement and psychological well-being? *The American psychologist*, 53 (9), 1017-31.
- Kraut, R., Kiesler, S., Boneva, B., Cummings, J., Helgeson, V. and Crawford, A. (2002). Internet paradox revisited. *Journal of Social Issues*, 58, 49–74
- Krippendorff, K. (1980) *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. Sage Publications. Second Edition. 2004.
- Kucukcan, T. (1996). *The politics of ethnicity, identity and religion among Turks in London.* PhD thesis, University of Warwick. http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/36326/1/WRAP_THESIS_Kucukcan_1996.pdf

- Kushlev, K. and Dunn, E.W. (2019). Smartphones distract parents from cultivating feelings of connection when spending time with their children. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 36, 1619 - 1639.
- Lanette, S. (2018). *The Mere Presence of Mobile Phones during Parent-Teen Interactions (PhD Thesis)*. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1j709942>
- Laursen, B. and Collins, W. A. (2009). Parent-child relationships during adolescence. In: Lerner, R. M. and Steinberg, L. (Eds.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology: Contextual influences on adolescent development* Hoboken, NJ, US: John Wiley & Sons Inc, 3-42.
- Law, D. M., Shapka, J. D. and Olson, B. F. (2010). To control or not to control? Parenting behaviours and adolescent online aggression. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 26 (6), 1651–1656. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2010.06.013>
- Leavey, G., Hollins, K., King, M., Barnes, J., Papadopoulos, C., and Grayson, K. (2004). Psychological disorder amongst refugee and migrant schoolchildren in London. *Social psychiatry and psychiatric epidemiology*, 39(3), 191–195. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-004-0724-x>
- Lee, S. J., & Chae, Y. G. (2007). Children's Internet use in a family context: influence on family relationships and parental mediation. *Cyberpsychology & behavior: the impact of the Internet, multimedia and virtual reality on behavior and society*, 10(5), 640–644. <https://doi.org/10.1089/cpb.2007.9975>
- Lee, S. J., and Chae, Y. G. (2012). Balancing participation and risks in children's Internet use: the role of internet literacy and parental mediation. *Cyberpsychology, behavior and social networking*, 15 (5), 257–262. <https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2011.0552>
- Lee, W. and Kuo, E.C. (2002). Internet and Displacement Effect: Children's Media Use and Activities in Singapore. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 7, 0.
- Lenhart, A., Madden, M. and Hitlin, P. (2005). *Teens and technology*. DC: Pew and American Life Project
- Lenhart, A., Raine, L., and Oliver, L. (2001). *Teenage life online: The rise of the instant-message generation and the Internet's impact on friendships and family relationships*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2001/06/21/teenage-life-online/>
- Lindley, S. E. (2015). *Making Time*. In *Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing (CSCW '15)*.

- Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 1442–1452.
DOI:<https://doi.org/10.1145/2675133.2675157>
- Liu, J., Liu, C., Wu, T., Liu, B., Jia, C., and Liu, X. (2019). Prolonged mobile phone use is associated with depressive symptoms in Chinese adolescents. *Journal of Affective Disorders*. 259. [10.1016/j.jad.2019.08.017](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jad.2019.08.017)
- Liu, X., Luo, Y., Liu, Z. Z., Yang, Y., Liu, J. and Jia, C. X. (2020). Prolonged Mobile Phone Use Is Associated with Poor Academic Performance in Adolescents. *Cyberpsychology, behavior and social networking*, 23 (5), 303–311. <https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2019.0591>
- Liu, Q.-X., Fang, X.-Y., Zhou, Z.-K., Zhang, J., Deng, L.-Y. (2013) Perceived Parent-Adolescent Relationship, Perceived Parental Online Behaviors and Pathological Internet Use among Adolescents: Gender-Specific Differences. *PLoS ONE* 8(9): e75642. doi: [10.1371/journal.pone.0075642](https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0075642)
- Liu, Q.-X., Fang, X.-Y., Deng, L.-Y., and Zhang, J.-T. (2012). Parent–adolescent communication, parental internet use and internet-specific norms and pathological internet use among Chinese adolescents. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 28(4), 1269–1275. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2012.02.010>
- Livingstone, S. and Bober, M. (2004). *UK children go online: surveying the experiences of young people and their parents*. London School of Economics and Political Science, London, UK.
- Livingstone, S. and Haddon, L. (2008). Risky experiences for children online: Charting European research on children and the Internet. *Children & Society*, 22 (4), 314–323. doi: [10.1111/j.1099-0860.2008.00157.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2008.00157.x)
- Livingstone, S. and Helsper, E. (2008). Parental mediation of children’s internet use. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 52 (4), 581–599.
- Livingstone, S. (2009). Half a Century of Television in the Lives of Our Children. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 625 (1), 151–163. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716209338572>
- Livingstone, S. and Helsper, E. (2010). Balancing opportunities and risks in teenagers’ use of the internet: the role of online skills and internet self-efficacy. *New Media & Society*, 12 (2), 309–329. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444809342697>
- Livingstone, S., Haddon, L., Görzig, A., and Ólafsson, K. (2011). *Risks and safety on the internet: The perspective of European children*. Full Findings. LSE, London: EU Kids Online.

- Livingstone, S. and Kirwil, L. and Ponte, C. and Staksrud, E. (2013). *In their own words: what bothers children online? with the EU Kids Online Network*. EU Kids Online, London School of Economics & Political Science, London, UK.
- Livingstone, S. and Third, A. (2017). Children and Young People's rights in the digital age: An emerging agenda. *New Media & Society*, 19 (5) 657-670.
- Lobe, B., Livingstone, S., Olafsson, K. and Vodeb, H. (2011). *Cross-national comparison of risks and safety on the internet. Initial analysis from the EU Kids Online survey of European children*. EU Kids Online, London School of Economics and Political Science. <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/39608/>
- Longhurst, R. (2009). Interviews: In-Depth, Semi-Structured. In: *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography*, 580-584.
- Lyle, J. (1972). Television in Daily Life: Patterns of Use (Overview). In: Rubinstein, E. A., Comstock, G.A. and Murray, G.P. *Television and Social Behavior; Reports and Papers, Volume IV: Television in Day-to-Day Life: Patterns of Use*. Pp. 1-32. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED059626.pdf>
- Lyle, J. and Hoffman, H.R. (1972). Television in Daily Life: Patterns of Use (Overview). In: Rubinstein, E. A., Comstock, G.A. and Murray, G.P. *Television and Social Behavior; Reports and Papers, Volume IV: Television in Day-to-Day Life: Patterns of Use*. Pp. 129-256. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED059626.pdf>
- Mathers, N., Fox, N. and Hunn, A. (2000). *Using Interviews in a Research Project*.
- Mayer, B., Trommsdorff, G., Kagitcibasi, C. and Mishra, R.C. (2012). Family models of independence/interdependence and their intergenerational similarity in Germany, Turkey, and India. *Family Science*, 3 (1), 64-74, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19424620.2011.671503>
- McAdams, T. A., Rijdsdijk, F. V., Narusyte, J., Ganiban, J. M., Reiss, D., Spotts, E., Neiderhiser, J. M., Lichtenstein, P., and Eley, T. C. (2017). Associations between the parent-child relationship and adolescent self-worth: a genetically informed study of twin parents and their adolescent children. *Journal of child psychology and psychiatry, and allied disciplines*, 58 (1), 46–54. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.12600>
- McFarlane, E., Dodge, R. A., Burrell, L., Crowne, S., Cheng, T. L. and Duggan, A. K. (2010). The importance of early parenting in at-risk families and children's social-emotional adaptation to school. *Academic pediatrics*, 10(5), 330–337. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.acap.2010.06.011>

- McDaniel, B. T., and Coyne, S. M. (2014). 'Technoference': The interference of technology in couple relationships and implications for women's personal and relational well-being. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*. <https://doi.org/10.1037/ppm0000065>.
- McDaniel, B. T. (2015). "Technoference": Everyday intrusions and interruptions of technology in couple and family relationships. In: Bruess, C. J. (Ed.), *Family communication in the age of digital and social media*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing
- McDaniel, B. T. and Coyne, S. M. (2016). Technology interference in the parenting of young children: Implications for mothers' perceptions of coparenting. *The Social Science Journal*, 53(4), 435e443. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2016.04.010>.
- McDaniel, B. T. and Radesky, J. S. (2018). Technoference: Parent Distraction With Technology and Associations With Child Behavior Problems. *Child development*, 89(1), 100–109. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdev.12822>
- McGregor, E. and Siegel, M. (2013). *Social media and migration research* (Maastricht Economic and Social Research Institute on Innovation and Technology [UNU-MERIT] Working Paper Series 2013–068).
- McLuhan, M. (1964). *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. <https://designopendata.files.wordpress.com/2014/05/understanding-media-mcluhan.pdf>
- Mesch, G. S. (2001). Social relationships and Internet use among adolescents in Israel. *Social Science Quarterly*, 82 (2), 329–339. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0038-4941.00026>
- Mesch, G.S. (2003). The family and the Internet: the Israeli case. *Social Science Quarterly*, 84, 1038–50
- Mesch, G. S. (2006a). Family characteristics and intergenerational conflicts over the Internet. *Information, Communication and Society*, 9 (4), 473–495.
- Mesch, GS. (2006b). Family Relations and the Internet: Exploring a Family Boundaries Approach. *Journal of Family Communication*, 6, 119-138. [10.1207/s15327698jfc0602_2](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327698jfc0602_2).
- Mesch, G.S. and Talmud, I. (2011). Ethnic Differences in Internet Access. *Information, Communication & Society*, 14 (4), 445-471, DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2011.562218

- Middleton, C. A. (2007). Illusions of Balance and Control in an Always-on Environment: a Case Study of BlackBerry Users, *Continuum*, 21 (2), 165-178, DOI: 10.1080/10304310701268695
- Modecki, K.L., Low-Choy, S., Uink, B.N., Vernon, L., Correia, H., and Andrews, K. (2020). Tuning into the real effect of smartphone use on parenting: a multiverse analysis. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 61, 855– 865.
- Morley, D. (2000). *Home Territories*. London: Comedia/Routledge.
- Morley, D. (1992). *Television, Audiences & Cultural Studies*. London and Newyork: Routledge
- Moser, C., Schoenebeck, S., and Reinecke, K. (2016). Technology at the Table: Attitudes about Mobile Phone Use at Mealtimes. *Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*.
- Nathanson, A. I. (1999). Identifying and explaining the relationship between parental mediation and children’s aggression. *Communication Research*, 26, 124–143. doi:10.1177/009365099026002002
- Nelson, S. K., Kushlev, K., English, T., Dunn, E. W., and Lyubomirsky, S. (2013). In defense of parenthood: Children are associated with more joy than misery. *Psychological Science*, 24, 3–10. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612447798>
- Nelson, S. K., Kushlev, K., and Lyubomirsky, S. (2014). The pains and pleasures of parenting: When, why, and how is parenthood associated with more or less well-being? *Psychological Bulletin*, 140, 846–895. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035444>
- Newton, N. (2010). *The use of semi-structured interviews in qualitative research: strengths and weaknesses*. Paper submitted in part completion of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Bristol. Available from http://www.academia.edu/1561689/The_use_of_semistructured_interviews_in_qualitative_research_strengths_and_weaknesses [accessed on 15.03.2020]
- Nie, N. H, Hillygus, D. S. and Erbring, L. (2002). Internet use, interpersonal relations, and sociability. In: Wellman, B. and Haythornthwaite, C. (Eds.) *The Internet in everyday life* (pp. 215-243). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Nie, N. H., Simpson, A., Stepanikova, I., and Zheng, L. (2004). *Ten years after the birth of the Internet, how do Americans use the Internet in their daily lives?* Stanford, CA: Stanford Center for the Quantitative Study of Society

- Nikken, P. and Oprea, S. J. (2018). Guiding young children's digital media use: SES-differences in mediation concerns and competence. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 27(6), 1844–1857. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-018-1018-3>
- NSPCC (2017). Net Aware report 2017: “freedom to express myself safely”: exploring how young people navigate opportunities and risks in their online lives. *NSPCC*. <https://learning.nspcc.org.uk/media/1100/net-aware-freedom-to-express-myself-safely.pdf>
- O'Connor, A. (2012). *Understanding Transitions in the Early Years: Supporting Change Through Attachment and Resilience*, Routledge. ProQuest Ebook Central, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/westminster/detail.action?docID=1097856>. Created from westminster on 2018-11-28 04:14:20
- Ofcom (2020a). Communications Market Report: *Ofcom*. Available from https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0026/203759/cmr-2020.pdf
- Ofcom (2020b). Online Nation Summary Report: *Ofcom*. Available from https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0028/196408/online-nation-2020-summary.pdf
- Ofcom (2018). Communications Market Report: *Ofcom*. https://www.ofcom.org.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0022/117256/CMR-2018-narrative-report.pdf accessed on 27/12/2018
- Oliver, M.B. and Raney, A.A. (2014). *Media and Social Life*. Routledge. Newyork.
- Oulasvirta, A., Rattenbury, T., Ma, L., and Raita, E. (2012). Habits make smartphone use more pervasive. *Personal and Ubiquitous Computing*, 16 (1), 105–114.
- Ortner, C. and Holly, S. (2019). A Question of Commitment, Attention and Trust The Role of Smartphone Practices for Parent-Child Relationships in Adolescence. 1-22. 10.25598/JKM/2019-10.8.
- Park, S. K., Kim, J. Y. and Cho, C. B. (2008). Prevalence of internet addiction and correlations with family factors among South Korean adolescents. *Adolescence*, 172 (43), 895–909.
- Parreñas, R. (2001). Mothering from a Distance: Emotions, Gender, and Intergenerational Relations in Filipino Transnational Families. *Feminist Studies*, 27, 361.

- Parreñas, R. (2005). Long distance intimacy: class, gender and intergenerational relations between mothers and children in Filipino transnational families. *Global Networks-a Journal of Transnational Affairs*, 5(4), 317–336.
- Paus-Hasebrink, I., Ponte, C., Duerager, A. E. and Bauwens, J. (2012). Understanding digital inequality: The interplay between parental socialisation and children’s age development. In: Livingstone, S., Haddon, L. and Gorzig, A. (Eds.), *Children, risk and safety on the internet*, Bristol: The Policy Press, 257–271.
- Paus-Hasebrink, I., Bauwens, J., Dürager, A.E., and Ponte, C., (2013). Exploring Types of Parent–Child Relationship and Internet use across Europe, *Journal of Children and Media*, 7:1, 114-132, DOI: 10.1080/17482798.2012.739807
- Paus-Hasebrink, Sinner, P., and Prochazka, F. (2014). *Children’s online experiences in socially disadvantaged families: European evidence and policy recommendations*. EU Kids Online.
- Pertierra, R. (2005). ‘Mobile phones, identity and discursive intimacy’, *Human Technology*, 1 (1), 23–44.
- Plantin, L. and Daneback, K. (2009). Parenthood, information and support on the internet. A literature review of research on parents and professionals online. *BMC Family Practice*. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2296-10-34>
- Ponte, C., Pereira, S., and Castro, T. S. (2019). Parenting young children in changing media environments with twenty years apart. *Comunicazioni Sociali*, (2), 276-288. https://doi.org/10.26350/001200_000064
- Prensky, M. (2001). Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants. From On the Horizon (MCB University Press, 9 (5), 1-6 <https://www.marcprensky.com/writing/Prensky%20-%20Digital%20Natives,%20Digital%20Immigrants%20-%20Part1.pdf>
- Procházka-Eisl, G. (2016). The Alevis. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*. <https://oxfordre.com/religion/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-101>.
- Ra, C.K., Cho, J., Stone, M.D., et al. (2018). Association of Digital Media Use With Subsequent Symptoms of Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder Among Adolescents. *JAMA*, 320(3):255–263. doi:10.1001/jama.2018.8931
- Radesky, J. S., Kistin, C. J., Zuckerman, B., Nitzberg, K., Gross, J., Kaplan-Sanoff, M., Augustyn, M., and Silverstein, M. (2014). Patterns of mobile device use by caregivers and children during meals in fast food restaurants. *Pediatrics*, 133(4), e843–e849. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2013-3703>

- Radesky, J.S., Miller, A. L., Rosenblum, K. L., Appugliese, D., Kaciroti, N., and Lumeng, J. C. (2015). Maternal mobile device use during a structured parent-child interaction task. *Academic pediatrics*, 15(2), 238–244. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.acap.2014.10.001>
- Radesky, J. S., Kistin, C., Eisenberg, S., Gross, J., Block, G., Zuckerman, B., and Silverstein, M. (2016). Parent Perspectives on Their Mobile Technology Use: The Excitement and Exhaustion of Parenting While Connected. *Journal of developmental and behavioral pediatrics: JDBP*, 37(9), 694–701. <https://doi.org/10.1097/DBP.0000000000000357>
- Reis, H. T., Sheldon, K. M., Gable, S. L., Roscoe, J. and Ryan, R. M. (2000). Daily well-being: The role of autonomy, competence, and relatedness. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26, 419–435. Retrieved from <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0146167200266002>
- Reis, H. T., and Collins, W. A. (2004). Relationships, human behavior, and psychological science. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 13 (6), 233–237.
- Riesch, S. K., Liu, J., Kaufmann, P. G., Doswell, W. M., Cohen, S., and Vessey, J. (2019). Preventing adverse health outcomes among children and adolescents by addressing screen media practices concomitant to sleep disturbance. *Nursing outlook*, 67 (4), 492–496. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.outlook.2019.06.009>
- Robinson, L., Cotten, S. R., Ono, H., Quan-Haase, A., Mesch, G., Chen, W., Schulz, J., Hale, T.M., and Stern, M. J. (2015). Digital inequalities and why they matter, *Information, Communication & Society*, 18 (5), 569-582, DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2015.1012532
- Robinson, M. (2003). *From birth to one: The year of opportunity*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press
- Rosenblatt, P.C. and Cunningham, M.R. (1976). Television Watching and Family Tensions. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 38, (1) 105-111 Published by: National Council on Family Relations Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/350554> Accessed: 09-12-2018 15:40 UTC
- Rudi, J., Dworkin, J., Walker, S. and Doty, J. (2015). Parents' use of information and communications technologies for family communication: Differences by age of children. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18 (1), 78–93. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2014.934390>

- Salaff, J. W. (2002). Where home is the office: The new form of flexible work. In: Wellman, B. and Haythornthwaite, C. (Eds.). *The Internet in everyday life* (pp. 464–495). Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Sandelowski, M. (2000). Focus on Research Methods: Whatever Happened to Qualitative Description. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 23, 334–340.
- Sanders, C. E., Field, T., Diego, M. and Kaplan, M. (2000). The relationship of Internet use to depression and social isolation among adolescents. *Adolescence*, 35, 237–242.
- Santos, C.V.M., Campana, N.T.C., and Gomes, I. C. (2019). Egalitarian Parental Care: literature review and conceptual construction. *Psicologia: Teoria e Pesquisa*, 35, e35311. Epub December 02, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0102.3772e35311>
- Sarkadi, A. and Bremberg, S. (2005). Socially unbiased parenting support on the Internet: a cross-sectional study of users of a large Swedish parenting website. *Child Care Health Dev.* 31 (1) 43-52.
- Savirimuthu, J. (2012). *Child Safety, Law, Technology and Governance*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sbarra, D. A., Briskin, J. L., and Slatcher, R. B. (2019). Smartphones and Close Relationships: The Case for an Evolutionary Mismatch. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 14 (4), 596–618. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691619826535>
- Scannell, P. (2007). *Media and Communication*. Sage Publications
- Schols, M.H. (2015). *Young, online and connected: the impact of everyday Internet use of Dutch adolescents on social cohesion*. (Doctoral Thesis, Erasmus University Rotterdam). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/1765/78734>
- Shedd, J. A. (1928). Salt from my Attic. Portland. Cited in: F.R. Shapiro (Ed.) (2006), *The Yale Book of Quotations* (p. 705). Yale: Yale University Press
- Shklovski, I., Kraut, R. and Rainie, L. (2004). The Internet and Social Participation: Contrasting Cross-Sectional and Longitudinal Analyses. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 10 (1).
- Silverstone, R. (1994). *Television and Everyday Life*. London: Routledge
- Simmons, C. (2009). 'Children, Media and Regulation'. *A Doctoral Thesis Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University*.

- Simsek, D. (2013) 'Turkish migration in Europe and desire to migrate to and from Turkey'. Border Crossing: Transnational Working Papers, No. 1302. Available at:<http://www.regents.ac.uk/bctwp/>
- Simsek, D. (2012). *Identity formation of Cypriot Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish young people in London in a transnational context*. (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, City University London) <https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/1234/>
- Sirkeci, I. (2019). *Migration from Turkey to the UK*, <https://www.imin.org/blog/migration-from-turkey-to-the-uk>, accessed on 07.01.2019
- Sohn, S. Y., Rees, P., Wildridge, B., Kalk, N. J. and Carter, B. (2019). Prevalence of problematic smartphone usage and associated mental health outcomes amongst children and young people: a systematic review, meta-analysis and GRADE of the evidence. *BMC psychiatry*, 19(1), 356. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12888-019-2350-x>
- Sonck, N., Nikken, P. and Haan, Jos. (2013). Determinants of Internet Mediation: *Journal of Children and Media*. 7. 96-113. 10.1080/17482798.2012.739806.
- Söderqvist, F., Carlberg, M. and Hardell, L. (2008). Use of wireless telephones and self-reported health symptoms: a population-based study among Swedish adolescents aged 15-19 years. *Environmental health: a global access science source*, 7, 18. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1476-069X-7-18>
- St. Peters, M., Fitch, M., Huston, A., Wright, J. and Eakins, D. (1991). Television and Families: What Do Young Children Watch with Their Parents? *Child Development*, 62 (6), 1409-1423. doi:10.2307/1130815
- Stockdale, L. A., Cole S.M., and Padilla-Walker, L. M. (2018). Parent and Child Technoference and socioemotional behavioral outcomes: A nationally representative study of 10- to 20-year-Old adolescents. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, 88, 219-226. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2018.06.034>.
- Strasburger, V.C. and Hogan, M. (2013). AAP Council on Communications and Media Policy Statement. Children, Adolescents and the Media. *Paediatrics*, 132 (5), 958-961. doi: 10.1542/peds.2013-2656.
- Tanyas, B. (2016). Experiences of Otherness and Practices of Othering: Young Turkish Migrants in the UK. *Sage Publications*, 24 (2), 157-173
- The Guardian. The tech giants operate like cars without brakes. They must be reined in
The Guardian. Available from

- <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/oct/12/tech-giants-reined-in-internet-state-regulation>
- Thomé S. (2018). Mobile Phone Use and Mental Health. A Review of the Research That Takes a Psychological Perspective on Exposure. *International journal of environmental research and public health*, 15(12), 2692. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph15122692>
- Thomson, M. (2006). *Immigration to the UK. The case of Turks. Report prepared for the Research Project: MIGSYS Immigrants, policies and migration systems: An ethnographic comparative approach*
- Trifan, T., Stattin, H. and Tilton-Weaver, L. (2014). Have Authoritarian Parenting Practices and Roles Changed in the Last 50 Years? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 76(4), 744-761. Retrieved April 23, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24582743>
- Tuttle, A. R., Knudson-Martin, C. and Kim, L. (2012). Parenting as relationship: a framework for assessment and practice. *Family process*, 51(1), 73–89. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1545-5300.2012.01383.x>
- Turow, J. (2001). Family Boundaries, Commercialism, and the Internet: A Framework for Research. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 22 (1), 73-86. Available from [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0193-3973\(00\)00067-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0193-3973(00)00067-8)
- Turow, J. and Nir, L. (2000). *The Internet and the family 2000: The view from the parents, the view from the kids*. Philadelphia, PA: Annenberg Public Policy Center, University of Pennsylvania. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/214166684.pdf>
- UKOM (2018a). UK Digital Market Overview – September 2018. *UKOM*. <https://ukom.uk.net/digital-market-overview/97-q3-2018-uk-digital-market-overview-report.php>
- UKOM (2018b). UK Digital Market Overview – June 2018. *UKOM*. <https://ukom.uk.net/digital-market-overview/79-q2-2018-uk-digital-market-overview-report.php>
- UKOM (2019). UK Digital Market Overview Report. *UKOM*. <https://ukom.uk.net/digital-market-overview/214-september-2020-uk-digital-market-overview-report.php>
- UKOM (2020). UK Digital Market Overview Report. *UKOM*. Available from <https://ukom.uk.net/digital-market-overview/214-september-2020-uk-digital-market-overview-report.php>

- Uy-Tioco, C. (2007). Overseas Filipino workers and text messaging: Reinventing transnational mothering. *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*, 21(2), 253–265. doi:10.1080/10304310701269081
- Van Deursen, A. J. (2020). Digital Inequality during a Pandemic: Quantitative Study of Differences in COVID-19-Related Internet Uses and Outcomes Among the General Population. *Journal of medical Internet research*, 22(8), e20073. <https://doi.org/10.2196/20073>
- Van den Eijnden, R. J. J. M., Spijkerman, R., Vermulst, A. A., Van Rooij, T. J. and Engles, R. C. M. E. (2010). Compulsive Internet use among adolescents: Bidirectional parent–child relationships. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 38 (1), 77–89. Available from DOI: 10.1007/s10802-009-9347-8
- Van Dijk, J. A. G. M. (2008). One Europe, Digitally Divided. In: Chadwick, A. and Howard, P.N. (Eds.), *Handbook of Internet Politics* (pp. 288-304).
- Van Rompaey, V., Roe, K. and Struys, K. (2002). Children’s influence on Internet access at home. *Information Communication and Society*, 5 (2), 189–206. Available from <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691180210130770>
- Wang, Y. and Lim, S. S. (2017). Mediating intimacies through mobile communication: Chinese migrant mothers’ digital ‘bridge of magpies’. In: Andreassen, R., Harrison, K., Petersen, M. N., and Raun, T. (Eds.) *New Media – New Intimacies: Connectivities, relationalities, proximities*. London: Routledge, 159- 178.
- Warren, R. (2001). In words and deeds: Parental involvement and mediation of children’s television viewing. *Journal of Family Communication*, 1 (4), 211-231. Available from https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327698JFC0104_01
- Watt, D. and White, J. M. (1994). Computers and family life: A family developmental perspective. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 30 (1), 1-15. Available from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41603606>
- Wellman, B., Haase, A.Q., Witte, J., and Hampton, K. (2001). Does the Internet increase, decrease, or supplement social capital? *American Behavioral Scientist*, 45, 436–55. Available from <https://doi.org/10.1177/00027640121957286>
- Wilding, R. (2006). 'Virtual' intimacies? Families communicating across transnational contexts. *Global Networks-A Journal of Transnational Affairs*, 6(2), 125-142. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2006.00137.x>

- Williams, S. and Williams, L. (2005). Space Invaders: The Negotiation of Teenage Boundaries through the Mobile Phone. *The Sociological Review*, 53(2), 314–331. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-954X.2005.00516.x>
- Willner, C. J., Gatzke-Kopp, L. M. and Bray, B. C. (2016). The dynamics of internalizing and externalizing comorbidity across the early school years. *Development and psychopathology*, 28 (4pt1), 1033–1052. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S095457941600068>